"I was regarded as the human I was, and not only as the criminal"

A qualitative research study of four former participants of the U23 Project

Postgraduate dissertation in MA Criminology

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation concerns a crime prevention initiative called the U23 Project, which was a groundbreaking interdisciplinary collaboration in Trondheim, Norway aiming to end the violent behaviour of so-called 'violent regulars'. This project gave very positive results, and this research is an evaluation of the project seeking to discover why it had such positive outcomes. Such knowledge will be helpful to design new crime prevention initatives, as the youth crime in Trondheim is increasing.

In this regard, I have conducted qualitative interviews with four of the former participants of the project. Their expereiences and reflections formed the data material, and a thematic analysis gave five categories: "self-motivation", "abandon the milieu", "social relations with adults", "residence and economy" and "leisure time". The findings were discussed in relation to the theories chosen for this research, aiming to examine what factors were crucial for the 'viloent regulars' to desist from violence. The theoretical famework consists of the Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm, the Dessitance Theory and The Self-Determination Theory.

The discussion of the findings concerns several factors that probably contributed to enable a desistance from not only violence, but all crime. It seems like the participation in the U23 project were important for the participants of several reasons. They got assistance and help with practical matters, and they developed social relations to adults. Additionally, they were able to attend various activities which increased their motivation to change their behaviour and lifestyle – a motivation that seems to be crucial for such a process to start.

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# 1 Introduction

# 1.1 The U23 Project

It is clear to me that the U23 thing have worked, because if it had not been present while we were at our worst, then all of us in my gang would have carried out long-lasting penalties (...) If they had followed the criminal justice system at that time, I think we had still been in prison (Daniel).

This quote is from 'Daniel', one of the men I talked to when working on this research. He was a participant in the U23 project, which was initiated in 2009 by Trondheim municipality in Mid-Norway. The aim of the project was to stop what the police referred to as 'violent regulars' aged 18 to 23, hence the name 'U23' which stands for 'under 23' (Trondheim Municipality, 2018). The project was an interdisciplinary collaboration between the municipality, the police, the Correctional Service, and NAV, the Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration. Information on this project is acquired through conversations with Reidun Hobbesland and Even Ytterhus, the leaders of the project, during the spring and summer of 2018. Additional information is collected from the municipality's various websites and others who worked on the project.

The 'target audience' was eleven young men who had exercised an extensive amount of crime, especially violence. Altogether, these eleven men were registered with more than 400 cases of violence, and they were all part of a criminal network. This violent behaviour created fear in the city, particularly in the city center where the men were most active, so it was urgent to solve this issue. The aim of the project was to prevent further crime by breaking their violent pattern of activity and to get them out of the criminal network, so they could get the opportunity to move on with their lives (Trondheim Municipality, 2018). For this to happen it seemed crucial to change their criminal mindset. However, to be able to do so the police and the municipality had to establish juridical permission to contact these men and to share information between the various disciplines. When the legal basis was set, the police was able to deliver a so-called 'message of concern' to the municipality, who then decided what measures should be implemented. Of the eleven young men who were invited to take part in the project, 10 of them consented and wanted help to change their behaviour and lifestyle.

Sør-Trøndelag Police Department conducted a research as a part of the project, which showed that all the participants had difficult upbringings (Trondheim Municipality, 2018). Only one of them came from a family situated above the poverty line, and more than half had grown up in homes with known violence and/or drug problems. All participants were known by the children welfare services, but despite many attempts and measures they had not succeeded in changing their behaviour. Each participant was assigned a co-worker from the municipality's health and welfare department to be their primary contact person helping to coordinate the various measures. Individually adapted help was emphasized, and included help to obtain residence, support at meetings with NAV and the Mediation Service, economic regulation and health treatment. Several of them received treatment for drug addiction and mental illness related to use of anabolic steroids. Those who were convicted were offered support to carry out penalties, and some of them accomplished anger management courses.

#### 1.1.1 Research question

According to the police, all of the participants were eventually able to stop the violent behaviour, as none of them have been reported for violence afterwards, and are no longer considered as 'violent regulars'. Additionally, the recorded violence in Trondheim decreased considerably after these young men attended the project, and after a while the police did no longer consider anyone as violent regulars in the city. These results show that such a project is a helpful tool in crime prevention, and now the municipality wants to implement a similar project again. The reason for this is that the youth crime in Trondheim is once again increasing, which will be argued further in the next section. However, the project leaders are not sure of the most important factors in breaking their pattern of behaviour, thus, what was the 'tipping point' (if any). To evaluate the project by taking the former participants' thoughts and experiences into account will in all likelihood give answers to this. In this regard, the research question for this dissertation is:

What was the main factor(s) for participants of the U23 project to end their violent behaviour?

### 1.2 Topicality of the research

Firstly, what causes young people to committ crimes has been subject to debates for a long time. As some argue that there are 'bad' individuals, others argue that juvenile delinquents are solely a product of their environment (Loeber and Farringtion, 2012). This research emphasizes the importance of social and physical environments in preventing crime. To evaluate the U23 project seems important because it will most likely give crucial knowledge to prevent further violent crime in all of Norway. Other municipalities have contacted the project leaders wanting to know how the project could give such positive outcomes. This has, however, been unclear as the project has not been evaluated, and hopefully this research will provide adequate answers to that. In terms of crime rates the current situation in Norway might not seem worrying as the number of reported offenses in 2017 was the lowest number in 25 years (Statistics Norway, 2018c). Regarding youth, most teenagers are becoming more conscientious and decent for every year (Bakken, 2017), and the number of reported offenses by youth under the age of 21 decreased each year from 2009 to 2012 (Politiet, 2015). The decrease was significant under the age of 18, however, among youth between the age of 21 and 23 there was a small increase in the same period. Thus, until 2012 the development was not alarming, but there has been a change since then.

In the first four months of 2018 there were 98,057 reported criminal offenses in Norway (Politiet, 2018) which can be seen as a large number in comparison to other countries, taking the country's population into account (approximately 5.3 million people, Statistics Norway, 2018a). Population figures are of course not sufficient when comparing crime rates in various countries, and because only a fraction of all crime is recorded by the authorities, it might never be valid or even relevant to make such a comparison (Eurostat, no date). Moreover, most offenders are aged 20 to 29 (Politiet, 2018) and historically speaking the criminal youth have become older, as 19 year olds are currently the most criminal (Bakken, 2017). However, the police (2018) expresses concern because of the increasing number of criminal cases with *minor* offenders. This means that only a small group of youth make up the increasing youth crime. Additionally, the number of reported cases of violence, maltreatment and sexual abuse in Norway has increased since 2016, especially non-physical offenses such as threats, stalking and other reckless behaviour (Statistics Norway, 2018c). As

for Trondheim, an analyst from the local police have provided statistics on demand for this research. These statistics show that by July this year (2018) there were 182 registered cases of violence in Trondheim where the offender was 23 years old or younger. This number indicates that the total number of violence in 2018 is likely to surpass previous years. Numbers from 2015 to July 2018 show that most violent offenders were aged 19 to 21, and that most offenses are committed by a small group of offenders. In this time range five persons were accused or convicted of 59 cases of violence. These statistics emphasize why crime prevention initiatives such as U23 is important. Hopefully, this evaluation of U23 can be helpful when implementing new initiatives, just like Trondheim municipality is planning to do.

## 1.3 Clarification of concepts

#### 1.3.1 Youth crime

In Norway, youth crime is normally regarded as crime performed by people under the age of 18 which is the age of majority, and 15 is the age of criminal responsibility (Lovdata, 2018). The majority of minors and youth that are reported to the police in Norway are so-called first time criminals, which means they have not been registered with any criminal offense before (Politiet, 2018). Although this research concerns adult criminals some of them had started quite young, and the oldest one was 23 when the project started. Therefore, the term 'youth crime' will be used in this context.

#### 1.3.2 Violent regulars

Although most young criminals are first time criminals, a small group of them are regarded as 'regulars' because they are registered with three or more criminal offenses (Politiet, 2018). The U23 Project was initially designed and outlined for 'violent regulars', and the ten participants were altogether registered with more than 400 violent cases - one of them claimed he had been convicted for approximately 50 cases of violence. According to the former participants the violence included fighting, unprovoked violence (mostly as a result of intoxication) and violence related to blackmailing and torpedo business.

#### 1.3.3 Crime prevention

According to Crawford and Evans (in Liebling, Maruna and McAra, 2017) the history of modern crime prevention stretches back for over 200 years, but has only been subject to scrutiny for the last 40 years. Perhaps the reason for this is that crime prevention was uncritically absorbed into the work of the police, whose main focus has been to detect, arrest and prosecute criminals. However, the last decades crime prevention has become a political issue, probably as a result of rising crime rates. Crawford and Evans argue that modern crime prevention is dominated by a situational approach, at the expense of more socially oriented ones. Although situational crime prevention offers practical and pragmatic approaches to reduce crime, it is often criticized of being intrusive and threatening civil liberties (such as the extensive use of CCTV cameras in the public). In contrast, the U23 project can be referred to as a crime prevention initiative with a socially oriented approach. Therefore, in this research the concept of crime prevention will mainly concern socially oriented approaches.

## 1.3.4 Youth penalty

In the quote above, Daniel claims that he and his friends would have been incarcerated today if the U23 project had not taken an alternative approach to the criminal justice system. In criminal cases where the offenders are minors, the police mostly use alternative sanctions to prison, aiming to prevent further crime (Politiet, 2018). Such sanctions are usually 'youth contracts', 'youth penalties' or 'youth follow-ups', and varies in content based on the offender and what services the municipalities provide. These penalties are carried out at the Mediation Service, which is a governmental service that deals with both criminal and civil cases, and has the responsibilities for youth penalties (Konfliktrådet, 2018). Criminal cases solved at the mediation service are not noted in the extracts from police records, but will be included in the police certificate of good conduct for two years. After two years the note in the records is deleted on condition that no new punishable offences are committed. Thus, although all U23 participants were juridically adults at the time, 'moving' their penalties from the criminal justice system to the mediation service was one of the projects' crime prevention measures.

### 1.3.5 Message of concern

The U23 participants were selected by the analysis group in the Trondheim police based on intelligence information. The police sent a so-called 'message of concern' of each of the eleven young regulars to the municipality, who then forwarded the message to the respective Health and Welfare department (HWD) where the regulars lived. Then the HWD contacted the various regulars, informing them about the message of concern and inviting them to participate in the project. When the declaration of consent was signed, each of the departments designed a strategy plan and implemented measures that seemed suitable for each participant.

## 1.4 Disposition

After the introduction, the theoretical framework and literature review will be presented. A chapter on methodology follows, elaborating the various methodological choices I have made. This chapter shows the findings of the research, which will be presented in chapter 4. These findings are discussed in relation to the theories in chapter 5. Finally, in chapter 6, limitations of the research study will be discussed, followed by some closing comments.

# 2 Literature review

## 2.1 Theoretical approach

In this chapter I will present the literature review of this research. Before collecting the data, I did extensive reading on various theories and literature. It seemed like desistance theory and the risk factor paradigm were applicable theories for my research. As such, I took a deductive approach to theory which concerns that the researcher draws on relevant theoretical ideas and on what is known about in a particular domain, in order to deduce a hypothesis that must then be subjected to empirical examination (Bryman, 2016). However, after collecting the data I chose an additional theory, namely the self-determination theory, because it seemed highly related to what the interviewees shared. Therefore, I have not only taken a deductive approach, but also an inductive one as I chose another theory after collecting the data (ibid.).

In terms of former research, the U23 project was an innovative initiative as nothing similar had been implemented in any Norwegian municipality before. Thus, there are not much research or literature on this topic from Norway. There are, however, much literature on crime prevention initiatives from the UK and the US (Farrington, 2000; Goldson and Muncie, 2006), and some former research will be presented in this chapter. First, I will present the risk factor prevention paradigm, with an emphasis on the concept of social class. The next section concerns desistance theory, emphasising the two factors of maturity and social relations. Then there will be a discussion on actuarialism and early intervention, followed by the self-determination theory.

# 2.2 The Risk Factor Prevention Paradigm

Farrington (2000) argues that during the 1990s there was an enormous increase in influence in criminology of what he calls the risk factor prevention paradigm (Rfpp). The aim of this paradigm is to identify the key risk factors for offending and to implement prevention methods designed to counteract them. This paradigm has fostered linkages between explanation and prevention, between fundamental and applied research, and between scholars, practitioners and policy makers. The Rfpp aims to determine which risk factors are causes, to establish what are protective

factors, to assess the monetary costs and benefits of interventions, to identify the active ingredients of multiple component interventions and to evaluate the effectiveness of area-based intervention programs (ibid.).

#### 2.2.1. Risk factors

So, what is a risk factor? According to Kazdin et al. (1997, in Farrington, 2000) a risk factor predicts an increased probability of later offending, however the term 'risk factor' is not used consistently and it often refers to an extreme category of an explanatory variable. Such a variable might be poor parental supervision, as research have found that children who experience poor parental supervision have an increased inclination of committing criminal acts later on: it actually more than doubles the risks for offending (ibid.). Another risk factor is unemployment, which Rob White and Chris Cunneen (in Goldson and Muncie, 2006) claim to be the biggest single factor in the transformation of young people, and might lead to a number of social problems – especially crime. Moreover, the opposite of a risk factor might be referred to as a protective factor, and predicts a decreased rather than an increased probability of offending (Farrington, 2000). Another definition is that a protective factor is a variable that interacts with a risk factor to minimize the risk factors' effect, which means that both risk and protective factors might be different names for the same underlying construction.

There are several advantages of the risk factor prevention paradigm (ibid.). It is easy to understand and to communicate, and accepted by policy makers, practitioners and the general public. It is also based on empirical research rather than theories. However, this paradigm is not unproblematic: it might be hard to determine which risk factors are causes and which are merely markers or correlated with causes (ibid.). In addition to this, it is worth mentioning that the presence of several risk factors might lead to the 'labelling' of some youth as criminals. If so, this paradigm can unintentionally promote a self-fulfilling prophecy where the youth become aware of their 'label' as criminals by the society and eventually start acting like criminals, hence the labelling theory. The labelling theory will not be elaborated, however it briefly concerns the notion that people are not able to respond uncritically and passively to the world, but rather respond to their *ideas* of the world (Paul Rock, in Liebling, Maruna and McAra, 2017). Similarly, people view themselves by reading the

reactions of others, and this forms the way we act and behave. Nevertheless, the labelling of some young people as criminals or 'no hopers' feeds back into the problems of unemployment and marginalisation which much youthful criminality is based upon (White and Cunneen, in Goldson and Muncie, 2006). This links to my research as it emphasizes the significance of employment.

#### 2.2.2 Social class

When discussing the Rfpp and the various risk factors relating to youth crime it seems relevant to include the concept of social class. A survey on living conditions conducted in 2018 suggests that only 5% of the Norwegian population struggles with poverty (Statistics Norway, 2018b). However, poverty is a term that incorporates more than physical survival, as it also concerns the lack of possibilities to participate socially on equal terms with the rest of the society (Fløtten, 2008, in Statistics Norway, 2017). In this regard, social class is just as relevant when discussing youth crime in Norway as in other countries. This quote confirms this:

The propensity for some young people to engage in criminal activity is mirrored in, and an outcome of, the prevalent divisions and social inequalities characteristic of wider social and economic structural forms (White and Cunneen, in Goldson and Muncie, 2006, p.19)

Moreover, class can be defined as basically a social relation, directly associated with economic, social and political power, but also as a lived experience, where people act in the world in accordance with their relationships with people around them and the communal material and cultural resources available to them (ibid.). Regarding youth, the class situation is contingent and depends much upon family and community resources and it changes over time. There are several typical factors defining young people's class situation: the type and geographical location of their housing, the capacity of their parent/s to provide material support, the nature of their education, the age at which their formal education terminates, the nature of qualifications they receive on completion of education, their age at entry into the labour market and the nature of their employment (if any), and the type of leisure activities that they pursue (ibid.).

Class also embodies the notion of identity and affiliation. White and Cunneen (in Goldson and Muncie, 2006) argues that social identity and social belonging can be problematic due to institutional exclusion from paid work and commodity consumption, which make the appeal of 'street-culture' and the 'street scene' more appealing. In this way, the phenomenon of groups of young people 'hanging out' in the public domains of the streets, shopping centres and malls becomes one manifestation of the search for social connection. Likewise, youth without adequate economic resources to buy various goods, might experience some pressure to engage in alternative activities by taking the possessions of others (ibid.).

## 2.3 Desistance theory

In accordance with what was discussed earlier in this chapter, the desistance theory also acknowledge the possibility and danger of labelling. In fact, desistance theory can be seen as an antithesis of labelling theory (McNeill et al., 2012). There is little agreement on the definition of desistance, other than it means stopping committing crime (Shapland and Bottoms, in Liebling, Maruna and McAra, 2017). One definition is the long-term abstinence from criminal behaviour among those who used to offend repeatedly (McNeill et al., 2012). By this definition, desistance theory seems to concern 'persistent' offenders rather than 'occasional' offenders, but there are much disagreement on what classifies a 'desister'. Moreover, desistance is a term that covers more than criminal justice, and requires engagement with communities, families, civil society and the state itself to enable rehabilitation. Therefore, perhaps the definition by Kirkwood and McNeill (2015, in Liebling, Maruna and McAra, 2017) is more suitable as it sees desistance as the process of moving from offending to successful social integration (and with it compliance with law and social norms). This definition adds social integration as a means to accomplish desistance. If we can discover why and how ex-offenders desisted from crime, such knowledge will probably be helpful in preventing crime as well.

Producing and encouraging desistance is a crucial outcome that justice interventions are designed to achieve, however the measures of it varies too. As some see desistance as a permanent cessation of offending, others accept that re-offending may occur eventually (McNeill et al., 2012). Maruna, Immarigeon and LeBel (2004) suggest to distinguish between primary and secondary desistance, whereas primary

means the achievement of an offence-free period, whilst secondary signifies an underlying change in the offender's self-identity. As such, secondary desistance seems to be most beneficial for all parts, both for ex-offenders and the community as a whole. Nevertheless, it is important to understand how and why people desist, including why it takes some longer than others. Such understanding forces us away from well-established and old-fashioned models of who 'criminals' are, and encourages an understanding of change in personal identities. In addition, it urges us to value people for who they are or could become, instead of judging or rejecting them for what they have done (McNeill et al., 2012.).

#### 2.3.1 Maturity

We know that for most people offending behaviour usually peaks in peoples' teenage years and then starts to decline (ibid.), and Eleanor and Sheldon Glueck (1937, in McNeill et al., 2012) even argued that aging was the only significant factor in the reformative process. This argument was backed by one of the first criminological constants called the 'age-crime-curve' (Shapland & Bottoms, in Liebling, Maruna and McAra, 2017), normally a cross-sectional curve that shows official convictions and cautions for people of different ages during a short period of time. However, 'growing out of crime' as the most common cause of desistance seems to be inadequate, so more recent theories and research seek to find what features or components of aging cause desistance. Here too, identity is regarded as an important factor in achieving desistance: when interviewing desisting ex-prisoners, Maruna (2001) found that for ex-offenders to desist from crime, they need to develop a pro-social, coherent identity for themselves. In addition to this, it seemed important for the ex-offenders to 'make sense' out of their past lives and even put their experiences to good use (ibid.). Furthermore, it seems crucial to support and develop the offenders' strengths and resources, and not to focus on risks and needs (Maruna and LeBel, 2003, 2009, in McNeill et al., 2012). As such, 'correction' of the individual will not be sufficient to achieve desistance. Moreover, this does not only apply to their personal strengths and resources, but also resources in their social networks. This links to the importance of social relations.

#### 2.3.2 Social relations

Burnett and McNeill (2005) claim that we can only understand desistance within the context of social relations, in particular between offenders and people who matter to

them. The importance of social relations is central in the research of Sampson and Laub (1993, in McNeill et al., 2012) who developed the notion of a bond between an individual and society, and argued that engagement in offending is more likely when these bonds are broken or weakened. Thus, the pathway to desistance can go through repairing such relationships, both within families, communities and the state. Similarly, Burnett and McNeill (2005) argued the significance of the bonds between offenders and officers, and that motivation works better than force. Research by Sue Rex (1999, in Burnett and McNeill, 2005) even found evidence that probationers with social bonds to their supervisors appreciated the supervisors' efforts and did not want to let them down, and thereby tried to co-operate and to desist from further offending. Of course this cannot be generalized, but it unarguably links to my research which uncovers the importance of social bonds between the participants (the 'offenders') and the police officers, and their respective contact persons.

## 2.4 Actuarialism and early intervention

"Prevention is better than cure" (Roger Smith, in Goldson and Muncie, 2006 p.92). Considering this quote, Smith (in Goldson & Muncie, 2006) argues the common acceptance of early intervention as having an enormous contribution in achieving positive outcomes regarding youth crime prevention. According to Smith, this acceptance is enforced by well-established ideas and beliefs, but recent developments in policy and practice have led to an emphasis on a new approach, namely 'actuarialism'. This is an approach to crime control and management that provides concerns about the motives behind offending and replaces these with a focus on 'technologies' of risk minimisation and the elimination of potential threats to social order (ibid.). This approach seems to be derived from social, ideological and political movements associated with 'modernisation' and Ulrich Beck's concept of 'risk society', which concerns the risks and hazards systematically produced as part of modernisation, and how to prevent and minimize these (Beck, 1992). Moreover, actuarialism can be viewed both as a mode of intervention and as a means of conceptualising youth crime. Smith argues that reform and rehabilitation are overlooked in favour of mechanical functions, such as classification of risk and efficient deployment of resources to minimise the threat of harm. Early concerns about children's risk factors have become a central part of government strategy and policy formation. This seems problematic as early interventions are mainly based on risk estimates and predictions of future behaviour, and therefore do not require much evidence of crime or anti-social behaviour. Thus, the line between offending and 'pre-offending' becomes blurred (Smith, in Goldson and Muncie, 2006). This can be damaging for vulnerable children and youth, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Still, actuarialism creates a sense of reliability and certainty by predicting, assessing and intervening with young people whose behaviour is subject to concern, and therefore suggests the possibility of offering definitive solutions to their problematic issues. As such, it provides a justifiable and intelligible means of satisfying pressures for 'something to be done'. On the other hand, Smith claims this sense of certainty is illusory and that we must acknowledge its limitations. In 2001 the Youth Justice Board of England and Wales stated: "There are methodological as well as ethical difficulties to using current knowledge of relevant risk factors to target individual children" (Youth Justice Board 2001, in Goldson and Muncie, 2006 p.101). So, this is a statement from policy makers in England and Wales, but what is the Norwegian government's opinion on this matter? A strategy plan from 2013 by the Norwegian Department of Justice and Readiness takes a different approach, and claims that it is desirable to implement intervention as early as possible (Justis- og beredskapsdepartementet, 2013). Furthermore, it argues how the right intervention at the right time can change a negative development and prevent crime. It also addresses various risk factors and protective factors, and states the relevance of discovering and understanding these factors to enable crime prevention (ibid.).

Although there has not been done much research on this topic in Norway, there has been done quite a lot in the UK and the US. Several prevention and intervention programmes are mentioned in Goldson and Muncie (2006), such as the Perry Pre-School programme, 'On Track', The Youth Inclusion programme and the 'Splash' summer activity scheme. Nevertheless, Farrington (2000) states that not all research is equally valid and should therefore not be given equal weight. He argues the use of cost-benefit analysis in evaluating crime prevention programmes, partly based on arguments such as: "for every dollar spent on the programme, seven dollars are saved in the long term" (Schweinhart et al., 1993, in Farrington, 2000 p.15). Preventing crime, and evaluating the various crime prevention programmes, is vital as the monetary costs of crime are enormous. This includes both tangible costs such

as replacing stolen goods and repairing damage, and intangible costs that are harder to quantify, such as pain, suffering and so on. Furthermore, Welsh et al. (in Loeber and Farrington, 2012) point to the growing body of scientific evidence on the effectiveness of prevention and intervention programmes. However, these programmes are mainly targeted either at juveniles or adults, and there are therefore little knowledge about the effectiveness of intervention and prevention targeted at the transitional stage from adolescence to early adulthood.

#### 2.4.1 Six types of intervention programmes

Welsh et al. draw attention to six types of programmes. Firstly, family-based programmes that target risk factors associated with the family, like parent management training and functional family therapy, have appeared to be effective for preventing offending in juvenile years. Furthermore, most school-based interventions are implemented in early grades, and the meta-analyses of Wilson et al. (2001) and Gottfredson et al. (2006) identified four school interventions that were effective in preventing crime in middle school and high school (ibid.). These were school and discipline management, reorganization of grades or classes, increasing self-control or social competency, and classroom or instructional management. The third type concerns peer and community, which recognize that association with friends who engage in drug use or delinquency is one of the main risk factors for drug use and crime. Such programmes are designed to reduce the influence of delinquent friends, and increase the influence of prosocial friends. Additionally, individual-based prevention programmes seek to target risk factors within the individual, including intellectual enrichment programmes, social skills training or social competence programmes, mental health services and substance abuse treatment. The final two types relate to the labour market and restorative justice. Regarding the labour market, a key focus is on programmes that aim to increase employment of people at risk of offending. Finally, the restorative justice approach focuses on restoration rather than punishment, and seeks to address issues that produce conflict between offender and victim. Reconciliation minimizes anger and creates a sense of justice and satisfaction for both parties.

Although preventing crime seems to be a mutual goal of scholars and policy makers, the ways to reach the goal varies greatly and are based on various arguments. The

reason for this discrepancy is probably the multiple theories and research which provide different findings. Although community prevention programmes based on targeting those at risk are claimed only to have a limited effect on further offending rates (Roger Smith, in Goldson and Muncie, 2006) the U23 project arguably disproves this, as the analysis chapter will show. Nevertheless, it seems like there is no definite answer or solution to how to prevent youth crime. Therefore, to discuss various perspectives thoroughly before implementing initiatives or determine new policies seems helpful, if not necessary.

#### 2.5 Self-determination theory

The self-determination theory is not a criminological theory, but highly relevant in relation to the findings of this research. According to Deci and Ryan (in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012) the self-determination theory (SDT) belongs to social psychology and is focusing on the influences of social environments on attitudes, motivations, behaviours and values both developmentally and in current situations. SDT is empirically derived of human motivation and personality in social contexts, and assumes that humans are evolved to be intrinsically motivated and oriented toward developing naturally through integrative processes (ibid.). Although these qualities are inherent in human nature, they still develop over time and are affected by social environments. This theory seeks to investigate people's inherent growth tendencies and innate psychological needs, which are the basis of their personality integration and self-motivation (Ryan and Deci, 2000).

Thus, motivation is a significant part of SDT, and Ryan and Deci (2000) state that motivation is highly valued because it *produces*. It is therefore of greatest value for those who are involved in mobilizing others to act, such as for people working within the realm of crime prevention. Motivation is a complex concept, and SDT supplies a differentiated approach to the concept, classifying it into *autonomous* and *controlled* motivation. Such a differentiation enables us to understand the perceived forces that move a person to act (Ryan and Deci, 2000). Moreover, for development and functioning to be optimal there are three universal psychological needs that are essential; the need for autonomy, competence and relatedness. Satisfaction or prevention of these psychological needs determine the type of motivation and how strong it is (Deci and Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012). A social

environment which accommodates all three of these needs will promote people's internal and autonomous motivation. Here, *autonomy* concerns the self-endorsement of a person's behaviour accompanied by the sense of willingness, and SDT proposes that when individuals are more autonomously engaged in a therapeutic process (which is referred to as having an 'internal perceived locus of causality') they will be more likely to integrate change, which results in more positive outcomes (Deci and Ryan, 2008). If people experience change as a function of external factors, they will experience division and conflict in this process of change. Thus, external or *controlled* motivation will not lead to the same positive outcomes. Similarly, external events such as threats or punishments are preventing autonomy or *self-determination*, whereas positive feedback and choice are predicted to enhance it, and foster internal motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Deci & Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012).

Furthermore, the need for competence means that people want to feel competent. Social-contextual events, like reward and feedback, that generate feelings of competence will increase internal motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Finally, the need for relatedness is also crucial for internal motivation to flourish. Just like desistance theory, SDT also emphasizes the importance of social relationships, in particular the close personal ones (Deci and Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012). People need to have a sense of relatedness or security in relations to other people. In this perspective, being in a meaningful relationship is not enough, but the feeling of being autonomous within the relationship is essential for the relationship to be intimate and strong (ibid.). Thus, all three psychological needs are closely related, and dependent on each other to develop internal motivation.

# 3 Methodology

In this chapter I will show what research methods I chose for this research, by describing the methods and reflecting on the choices I made. Furthermore, the research process will be elaborated in detail, starting with the rationale for the research topic and the selection of interviewees. Interviews as a research method will then be discussed, followed by an elaboration of how the interviews were conducted. Then, there will be a discussion on ethical principles and the transcribing process, followed by reflections upon the quality of the research. Finally, the process of analysing data will be elaborated.

## 3.1 Research topic and aims

In April 2018, I contacted Even Ytterhus, the chief city executive of staff of advisers and SLT-coordinator in Trondheim municipality. The reason why I wanted to pick topic for my dissertation in collaboration with Ytterhus was that I had met him at an earlier occasion and knew that he plays a central crime prevention role in my hometown Trondheim, Norway. Crime prevention, especially among youth, is a field within criminology I have been captivated by during my time of study. It is not only interesting, but particularly important, and I would like to work within this field when graduated. Ytterhus presented the U23 project and suggested that I should evaluate it, aiming to find out what caused the original participants to end their violent lifestyles. I was immediately interested and curious, especially because the municipality plans to launch a similar project soon. Ytterhus was one of two project leaders, accompanied by Reidun Hobbesland, Project leader of cognitive programmes in Trondheim municipality's Mental health and drugs unit. They were very happy about the results of the project, but because of the scope and complexity of it they did not know exactly what factors led to these positive results. In order to discover these factors, it seemed crucial to talk to the former participants to find out what caused the change in their behaviour. Hobbesland, together with the local police, were assigned to determine whom of the former participants it would be relevant to include in the research. We also decided it would be preferable to talk to representatives from "he counterpart' as well, to see if their opinions and experiences correlated with those of the participants. Therefore, I contacted one police officer and one social worker who worked on the project from the start. These

conversations will be briefly discussed later in this chapter, and the data will be provided in the analysis chapter.

#### **3.2 Selection of interviewees**

Hobbesland, the gate-keeper in this research, contacted the local police asking them to choose suitable participants. There were two factors the police looked for in this decision: firstly, it had to be men who had stopped performing violence, thus, participants with assumingly successful results from the U23 project. This was uncomplicated, as it appeared that none of the original participants have been reported to the police for violent behaviour after participating in this project. This, of course, does not mean that none of them might have performed violence after leaving the project, but it seems likely as the police knew them and their whereabouts well. Second, the potential interviewees had to be persons who were likely to participate in the research. Of the original ten participants, only seven of them seemed available for participating. The reason for this was that some of them currently struggles with mental illness and/or drug addiction, and one is even deceased. This is the only information about the former participants I was able to obtain before interviewing them. Before starting the process of contacting potential interviewees, I applied for ethical approval from the ethical committees of Trondheim municipality and Middlesex University. When they were granted, Hobbesland and Tor Stinessen, SLT-coordinator in 'Uteseksjonen' ['the out section'] which is the place interviews were supposed to be performed, and which is well-known to all participants from the project, then asked the various former contact persons to contact the selected potential interviewees.

The process of providing interviewees was time-consuming and a bit tedious. As a researcher, it would be preferable to be able to contact participants myself, but that was not possible in this case which is understandable. The fact that this research was conducted during the summer was also an important factor in this matter, as all of the various contact persons left for vacation at different points of time. Additionally, the potential interviewees were unavailable at various times as they too were on holiday or working. Finally, we got four former participants to take part in the research. It was initially preferable to interview more than four participants, but because of the restricted time available, due to summer vacations, and also the

restricted number of potential interviewees, we decided four was sufficient to evaluate the project in a satisfactory way. Indeed, these four interviewees provided relevant and necessary information, for which I am truly grateful. How the interviews were carried out will be elaborated later on in this chapter. First, the rationale for choosing interviews as research method in this research will be discussed.

#### 3.3 Research method

The research method chosen for this research is interview, which is a common method in qualitative research. In contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research usually emphasizes words rather than quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2016). Furthermore, qualitative research has rejected the practices and norms of the natural scientific model, particularly positivism, and prefers to rather emphasize how individuals interpret their social world. It also sees social reality as constantly shifting because it is created by individuals (ibid.). In this research, the thoughts and subjective experiences of the former participants are the most important data, so to use a qualitative research method was crucial. According to Gorden (1980) there are many methods used to collect information about human behaviour, however all of them consist of three elementary forms of human activity: empathy, participation and observation. Regarding this, interviewing is seen as one specific form of empathizing, participating and observing which takes place between two people. In terms of the participation, the interviewer determines the setting or social context in which the interview takes place and asking questions (ibid.). Furthermore, the observation consists of noting the tone of voice, facial expressions, body movements as well as the content of the verbal message. Finally, empathy is involved in anticipating probable reactions to questions and therefore plays a crucial part in designing the interview questions, and in sensing how the respondent felt about questions he/she could relate to (ibid.).

In this regard, asking the participants to fill in a questionnaire would most likely not give the comprehensive and detailed data that was desirable for this research. Furthermore, because of the delicate nature of the research topic, it was not applicable to use other methods such as focus groups, or to interview more than one interviewee at the same time. As the analysis of data chapter will show, several of the interviewees had cut all contact with their former friends and wanted to leave this

particular time of their lives behind. Therefore, an interview based only on me and the interviewee seemed to be the best method to collect the desirable data. In this way, the interviewees would remain anonymous to everyone else than the researcher, the gate-keeper and their former contact person from the U23 project. Additionally, conducting data through interviews is not new to the researcher as I used this research method for my bachelor dissertation. The knowledge, and the confidence that follows with it, from former experiences with such interview situations would probably reassure both interviewer and interviewees when collecting the necessary data. This could potentially increase the quality of the interview and thereby the collected data. Furthermore, in agreement with the former project leaders it was decided to invite the participants to meet for an interview because that was seen as more likely to be successful than to give them a questionnaire to fill in on their own.

#### 3.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview guide was chosen because it seemed most suitable for this research. According to Walliman (2006) semi-structured interviews contains both structured and unstructured sections with open-format and standardized questions. Such interview guides are also referred to as semi-standardized interviews, and allows the interviewer to digress (Berg and Lune, 2012). This enabled me to ask follow-up questions and to let the interviewees talk more freely on the topics they wanted to focus on. This is favourable in types of research with sensitive topics such as in my research. When designing the interview questions, it was important for me as a researcher to include Hobbesland and Ytterhus in the process because of their knowledge and experience regarding the project. I started to outline the interview guide in main sections like 'before', 'during' and 'after' the U23 project. The guide was completed in its entirety together with Hobbesland and Ytterhus, and Stinessen also got the chance to look at it before it was sent to the two ethical committees of Middlesex University and Trondheim municipality. It was highly important to only include questions necessary for evaluating the project, so we were careful not to include any questions concerning details of their criminal background. The fact that they all were seen as violent regulars was sufficient information, and it was not relevant to ask questions regarding former charges or convictions. Still, it was desirable to include factors such as drugs, mental and physical health, family situation and circumstances concerning current employment and housing. Finally,

when both ethical committees had granted their approval, the data collection process could start.

## 3.4 Conducting interviews

Initially, the interviews were planned to be conducted in the facilities of Uteseksjonen, which lies in the city center and is familiar to all former participants, being a central part of U23. As several of the interviewees currently live in other parts of the country they were willing to be interviewed by telephone. In fact, it was easier to get the remaining potential interviewees to agree to participate if they were able to be interviewed via telephone instead of travelling to the planned interview facilities. Thus, in the end all interviews were conducted via telephone. This was unproblematic for me as an interviewer, however it was not optimal considering obtaining informed consent. This will be discussed in the next section. Further, because of the changed circumstances regarding the interviews, it was crucial to find other ways for recording than using a regular audio recorder, so I chose to use a free application for smart phones called ACR (Another Call Recorder). This application secured quality audio recordings which made the transcribing process easy. All interviewees were informed of this and they all gave their consent to be recorded. Additionally, as a researcher I wanted to be in the facilities of Uteseksjonen when conducting the interviews, as was the original plan. Such planning of conducting interviews links to the three elements of human activity in data collection provided by Gorden (1980), where planning and determining may be seen as the researchers' participation in the research. In terms of empathy, despite the careful selection and formulation of questions, it was important to listen to the response and sense whether or not the interviewee wanted to elaborate further on the specific topic. If the interviewee wanted to talk more about a specific topic they were welcome to, and if I sensed that they did not want to or was not able to elaborate I moved on to the next question. Thus, the semi-structured interview guide allowed me to be flexible and follow up interesting points made (Bryman, 2016). Still, observation is the only element not fully present in interviewing via telephone. As researcher I was not able to see the interviewees' body movements and facial expressions, however it was uncomplicated to acquire the content and hear their tone of voice. Likewise, I was unable to non-verbally communicate and thereby encourage the interviewees to be full in their answers, as the use of visual signs such as smiles and nods are helpful to get good responses

(Walliman, 2006). Therefore, it was important to speak clearly and steadily, and to chuckle if the respondents said something funny (which all of them did occasionally, despite the severity of the topics). This type of communication would probably encourage them to keep talking. Nevertheless, three of the four interviewees were very talkative, and they all gave satisfactory interviews which lasted from 38 minutes to 1 hour and 2 minutes.

#### 3.5 Discussion of ethics

Here I will discuss the various ethical principles of doing qualitative research in relation to my research.

#### 3.5.1 Informed consent

First, regarding informed consent in this research it was essential for the various contact persons to provide the information sheet to the potential participants. Informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate in a research study as an exercise of their choice, without any element of deceit, duress, fraud and manipulation (Berg and Lune, 2012). Therefore, although the participants had given their consent to their respective contact persons, I recited the informed consent sheet emphasizing their rights when I called them. When they had given their oral consent to me, I started the audio recorder application. The informed consent also excluded any risk of deception, which concerns researchers presenting the research as something different from what it is (Bryman, 2016). The participants knew that this was an evaluation of a project they had attended, aiming to seek why they had ended their violent behaviour.

#### 3.5.2 Harm to participants

Another ethical issue is potential harm to participants, which involves both physical and emotional harm including loss of self-esteem, stress and harm to participants' development (Bryman, 2016). Conducting interviews via telephone assured no physical harm for any of the parts, as they were all at home while communicating with me. Likewise, although any emotional harm would be hard to predict in this research, despite their given consent, the fact that they were at home gave them the opportunity to end the interviews immediately if they wanted to. Still, none of them did so and as the analysis chapter will show, they all seemed to enjoy talking about their participation in the project. Furthermore, not talking face-to-face probably made them

less anxious about being honest and forthright when answering sensitive questions (Bryman, 2016).

## 3.5.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

Additionally, the interviewees are still somehow anonymous to me as I do not know what they look like. Still, anonymity in a literal sense means that subjects remain nameless (Berg and Lune, 2012), so I have chosen to give them fictive names for this research: *Ben, Daniel, Alex* and *Adam*. Further, the ethical principle of confidentiality concerns an active attempt to remove any elements that might indicate the interviewees' identities from the research records (ibid.). In addition to the fictional names, I have excluded identifiable information on their past and current life situations. This includes details of their criminal careers, where they currently live and work, and their exact age. However, elements crucial to the analysis of data are included, of which the interviewees were informed and gave their consent. This concerns their current life situation regarding employment, family, leisure and use of drugs.

Finally, the conversations with the police officer and the social worker did not appear as interviews in the same sense, as they were informal conversations via telephone. Additionally, they also asked me several questions (like why I chose this topic for my dissertation, what knowledge I had on the project and what the former participants told me during interviews) and I only shared what I found appropriate. Moreover, the anonymity aspect is different because the fact that they worked on the project was public information. Thus, the circumstances around these conversations are not equal to the interviews with the former participants, but I still choose not to provide their names in this research. They will simply be referred to as the policeman and the social worker. These conversations will therefore not be elaborated further, and will contribute as a supplement in the discussion of the data analysis.

#### 3.6 Transcribing

The transcribing process also embodies ethical considerations. Qualitative researchers are interested in *what* people say as well as in the *way* that they say it (Bryman, 2016). Therefore it is necessary to present a complete account of the series of exchanges in an interview. This is time-consuming, but important to enhance the

quality of the analysis. All interviews were transcribed immediately after they were conducted. When transcribing it is important to write exactly what the interviewee said (Bryman, 2016). Transcribing the audio recordings was a bit challenging because some words were unclear, as some disturbing sounds appeared. However, this was not a significant issue and I asked the interviewees to repeat if something was not understandable or unclear. Additionally, the transcribing process would have taken much longer time if I sat face-to-face with the interviewees, as I was only able to write down what I heard. Each audio recording was deleted immediately after the transcript was completed. Further, it is important to take precautions to ensure that research related information is not carelessly discussed (Berg and Lune, 2012). Therefore, as a part of the confidentiality, the transcripts are only available to me despite the fact that I have discussed broader topics from the interviews with the gate-keeper, Reidun Hobbesland. Additionally, the transcripts do not include the interviewees' real names as it is irrelevant when they have fictive names. Finally, because all interviews were conducted in Norwegian I also transcribed them in Norwegian. This choice was made for two reasons: to ensure that the quotes were transcribed as correctly as possible before the audio recordings were deleted, and because this was much less time-consuming. For the analysis chapter, I have translated the selected quotes into English as directly as possible. This might perhaps cause errors in conveying the content, but I am confident that my English skills are adequate. Besides, this translation increases the anonymity as it excludes Norwegian slang words, dialects and accents from the quotes.

## 3.7 My role as researcher

Finally, I will reflect upon my role as a researcher. Qualitative researchers are sometimes criticized for being too subjective, and rely too much on the researcher's often unsystematic views about what is significant and important (Bryman, 2016). Another criticism involves the researchers' close relationships with the people studied (ibid.), however this is not applicable in this research, as I only talked with them on the telephone once. It is also important to clarify why one area was chosen rather than another. First, the rationale for the topic of this research is explained earlier in this chapter. My interest in the broader topic of youth crime prevention might have affected the research process. Still, I do not have any personal or professional experience on the matter other than what I have aquired from literature and the

news, so I do not believe I brought with me a considerable extent of subjectivity into this research. I was, however, greatly interested in their reflections and experiences to uncover what made them change their lifestyle. Likewise, the aims of this research was to find out what factors made the participants of the U23 project desist from violence. Because I did not have much experience to build assumptions upon, I do believe the findings reflect the participants' actual experiences and thoughts.

## 3.8 Quality of the research

I will now give a discussion on the quality of this research, using the methodological terms reliability, transparency, validity and transferability. First, reliability concerns the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable (Bryman, 2016). It relates to whether the measures that are devised for concepts in the social sciences are consistent. The term is especially connected to quantitative research, as quantitative researchers are more likely to be concerned with the stability of measures (ibid.). Still, I want to ensure the reliability of this research by describing the choices I made and how the research process developed. Such a description of what I did and how I arrived at the study's conclusions links to the term transparency (Bryman, 2016). I will therefore argue that this research has a great level of transparency.

Validity is in many ways the most important quality criterion (Bryman, 2016), and is concerned with the integrity of the conclusions made from a research study. As in quantitative research, validity refers to whether you are observing, measuring or identifying what you say you are (Bryman, 2016). In this research the validity is based on whether my interpretations of the findings represent the reality of the participant's experiences with the U23 project. The transparency is also relevant her, as it shows the foundation on which I made these interpretations. I will strengthen the validity by justifying my interpretations, and try to show how I have reflected upon the findings. The analysis chapter will contain quotes from the interviewees, so the reader will be able to see excerpts from the transcripts in addition to my interpretations and analysis of them. This will strengthen the validity of the research further.

Likewise, this links to transferability, also called external validity (Bryman, 2016), which concerns whether findings of a study are valid in other contexts or even in the

same context at some other time. Therefore, it it necessary for qualitative researchers to produce rich accounts of the details of a culture, which enables others to make judgements about possible transferability of findings to other subjects of research. Although the U23 project is unique, the participants' experiences of the social relations and activities offered by the project might be transferred to other similar situations. Additionally, the findings largely confirm the theories and I will therefore argue that there are indeed some sense of transferability.

## 3.9 Data analysis

In qualitative research there are several approaches to analyzing the collected data. Content analysis is a systematic, detailed, careful examination and interpretation of data material in an effort to identify themes, patterns and meanings (Berg and Lune, 2012). The analysis is designed to 'code' the content as data so it can be used to address research questions. Such coding can be done by using various coding programmes, and initially it was preferable to use NVivo, however the lack of sufficient skills and thereby the low confidence led to the decision of not using it. I did however manage to code the data material on my own in a satisfactory way. Miles and Huberman (1994, in Berg and Lune, 2012) identified three major approaches of qualitative data analysis: interpretative, social anthropological and collaborative approaches. This research has taken an interpretative approach, as the analysis is based on transcripts of interviews. How the researcher interprets texts such as transcripts depends partly on the theoretical orientation chosen by the researcher (ibid.). In this regard, I will elaborate on how I analysed the data material.

Based on the transcripts, I have been searching to discover any patterns and repetitions of underlying themes. This approach is referred to as a thematic analysis, which is one of the most common approaches to qualitative data analysis (Bryman, 2016). Here, a theme is regarded as the same as a code, and can be described as a category identified by the analyst through his or her data. Such a thematic analysis can be criticized for its unidentifiable approach (ibid.), however the analysis will emphasize that some themes were repeated by all interviewees. Moreover, looking for repetitions is the most common way of identifying themes, but such repetitions must be relevant for the research questions. After conducting the four interviews I immediately discovered that some themes recurred in all of them, which could

establish a basis for the analysis. This was perhaps expected because of the various topics in the interview guide, however other themes that I did not expect emerged as well. I wanted the themes to be based on the participants' descriptions rather than my own expectations, and therefore designed the codes on this basis.

When coding the transcripts, I developed keywords or short sentences which described parts of the content. Then, I used various colours to mark quotes that linked to these codes. One example is that everything in red linked to the code "self-motivation", which was one of the unexpected themes. I coded each interview before I went on to the next one, and repeated this several times. Because the number of codes became too big, I deleted the least relevant ones and gathered others into one category. In the end I had five categories, which established the basis of the analysis in the next chapter. These categories are "self-motivation", "abdandon the milieu", "social relations with adults", "residence and economy" and "leisure time".

# **4 Presentation of findings**

This chapter will present the findings that were analyzed through the thematic analysis, and will elucidate the research question. The findings are divided into five categories that are based on the analysis of the data material, however they are all closely linked to each other. The purpose of this chapter is to show the former participants' experiences and thoughts regarding the U23 project. Thus, quotes from the interviewees will illustrate each category, and I have selected the most suitable quotes for each category. I will also emphasize compliances and nuances between the interviewees' descriptions within each category. In some of the quotes I have cut out parts of the data material, which will be marked by (...), to either highlight the essence of their descriptions, or to maintain their anonymity. The five categories are "self-motivation", "abandon the milieu", "social relations with adults" "residence and economy" and "leisure time".

#### 4.1 Self-motivation

This category will concern the significance of the participant's individual motivation for participating in the project and for changing their lifestyle. It seems like all of the participants were initially motivated to change their behaviour, and they all argue that the project would not have given such positive outcomes if they had not been motivated in the first place. Additionally, three of them claim they either had started to change their behaviour, or was about to, before they took part in the project, however this is not the police officer's recollection. Nevertheless, they emphasize that the project made it much easier and efficient.

"In the end, it all comes down to your own willpower" (Daniel). This quote by Daniel illustrates the core of this category. As all participants claimed that their own motivation was essential, there were several factors that led to, or increased, this motivation. Firstly, on question of what consequences this type of lifestyle had or led to, Daniel stated:

Being caught, and put in an isolation cell and not knowing if you get out or if you will be incarcerated and things like that... and of course the economy, it was alcohol all the time, it was lending money and such things, and it was also positive to be regarded as crazy by the buddies, but from the outside it was.... you didn't get any ladies by fighting, they only saw you as an idiot (...) but the fact that people were scared of you... I think that was a big plus at the time (Daniel).

Here, Daniel mentions consequences such as ignorance or the lack of knowing what will happen in near future, economy, attention from girls and reputation. It seems like reputation within the milieux was the only 'positive' consequence in this sense. In fact, all four participants mention reputation and status as consequences of this lifestyle, and Daniel, Adam and Alex found it positive to have a reputation or status as "crazy" or "scary", as illustrated by Adam:

Reputation that you were, well, that type of person. You were a person nobody dared to mess with (...) It gave respect, and you know, when you are young you want to have a reputation, and rumours around... (Adam).

However, Adam claimed that these reputations eventually escalated, which contributed to wanting to get out of that lifestyle. Ben also mentions reputation as a consequence, and he sees it as solely a negative thing. Just like Adam, the negative reputations were one of the motivating factors for Ben to get out of that lifestyle, and he claims he was already on his way out of the milieux when he was invited to take part in the project: "It made it easier (...) I was already on my way out of it, but it was motivating to be part of the project too" (Ben). This correlates with descriptions from Daniel and Adam. Furthermore, some of the participants have children, and Adam states that family was an additional factor in motivating him to change and agreeing to participate in the project:

It was my ambition to quit that stuff and start working, and taking care of my family. So I decided that *Ok, I need help to achieve that.* (...) If I had continued with all that and the police saw that I had a child and I still was doing all that, then I wouldn't get to have contact with my kid at all (...) So I thought that if I don't want that to happen, I better quit, so I don't get those prohibitions (Adam).

Here, Adam describes the fear of getting a restraining order by the Children Welfare Services. Moreover, another factor in increasing the motivation for change was seeing other peers succeeding, and in particular Daniel and Adam points to the importance of this. Some of the contact persons who arranged activities invited youth who had positive developments of behaviour to join them, and Daniel thinks this was a means to affect and motivate the participants who were struggling the most. According to him, this worked well:

They had a totally different view on life, and they didn't necessarily tell you what was right or wrong in life, but... when you see that a person who has been heavily burdened by an environment or by drugs has managed to get that far, then it gives you an extra boost to at least try one more time, and to continue... or to get out of it (Daniel).

Adam seems to agree on the importance of 'successful' peers:

Yes, it motivated me. One after another started to change, and everyone headed that way, and you heard that *he is doing this and that*, something good (...) We thought that we were getting older and it was about time to 'change course' (Adam).

Here, Adam even points to age and maturity. According to Daniel, the significance of succesfull peers is still applicable today. After a couple of years he resumed the contact with some of his friends, and seeing them succeeding is motivating. Finally, the social worker believed that the main cause for the participant's positive development and change was their own motivation. Her experience was that some of the participants were very resourceful, and that they only needed a push to be able to use those resources.

#### 4.2 Abandon the milieu

"That boy with only violence, without drugs or mental health problems, did not exist" (Social worker). This quote by the social worker points to the essence of this category. For the young men to end their violent behaviour, it seemed crucial to end contact with their friends within the same milieu. The reasons for this is that being part of the milieu had negative influence on them, and that successful rehabilitation or change was more achievable when they did not have access to the various 'temptations'. Regarding the use of drugs, all four say they were usually intoxicated by alcohol when they were in a fight or performed violence. Ben claimed he never used other drugs than alcohol, but Daniel paints a different picture:

It was every weekend. It was unprovoked violence, it was alcohol, it was... what can I say... it was drugs, fighting, the whole thing was a cocktail.... We were a group of guys on twenty to thirty people who got together in the city center in the weekends, we went partying and stuff like that, and you were always willing to show who was 'worst' or most crazy (Daniel).

In addition to drugs, he said that fights often occurred because of 'hate' between gangs. Talking bad about each other on the internet, or by telephone or text messages often led to fights when the gangs met in the city center. Both Ben and Alex also mention gang-related hatred as one cause for violence to occur. Thus, this seemed like yet another reason to leave the 'gang' for achieving desistance. Nevertheless, both Daniel and Adam, who were also abusing drugs, were able to stop the alcohol and drug abuse. On the other hand, Alex has unfortunately developed a bigger drug problem now than he had when he participated the project.

Briefly summarized, Alex was in prison most of the time during the project, which resulted in a drug abuse:

The years I spent in prison changed me, I feel... I first started to abuse narcotics when I got out of prison. The first time I let out of prison was because I appealed and they couldn't hold me there any longer (...) and then the appeal came up and I was sentenced to two and a half year once again (...) so I knew I had like six or seven months before I had to serve the sentence, and then I could not start to think of a job or apartment or girlfriend or anything, so... it felt convenient to take drugs, because I didn't have anything to do. So that was when it started to escalate (Alex).

Thus, Alex developed a severe drug abuse while waiting for the next incarceration. Although he has now been out of prison for several years, he has not been able to quit drugs despite the fact that he has tried rehabilitation programmes. Still, he says he is no longer in the milieu, and without leaving the group he was in, he would not have been able to quit the alcohol and drug abuse the first time. Leaving the group also contributed to the decrease in violent behaviour, and just like the three others, he has not been convicted for violence ever since.

All four of them highlight the necessity of ending contact with their friends who shared the same destructive lifestyle. According to Ben, this was also suggested from the people working on the project:

An advice I got that was really good, and that was extremely hard of course, was to be more selective in whom to associate with... it was hard, but I probably cut out 80 percent of my social circle. (...) You have to take such choices and take the consequences of them (...) I had more plans for the future and goals with my life than they had, and I couldn't reach those goals if I had the same people around me (Ben).

Ben describes what seems to be a hard decision, especially because some of his (former) friends got mad at him for wanting to leave the milieu. Still, this decision and the fact that he moved to another city enabled him to reach his goals and for that he is proud of. Moving to another part of the country to enable a change was necessary regarding Daniel too:

I took a choice and moved away from Trondheim (...) to start 'on scratch' for the last time, and I withdrew from everything... and thereby no one recognized me and it was easier to get a job... because in Trondheim everybody knew me and knew who I was, it was rumours and people talked... (Daniel).

The police officer also sees moving away as an essential contribution to change.

Therefore, to increase awareness around what impact the social environments had on the participants' was an important part of the project. As the police officer stated,

no one could force them to end contact with their friends, but making them aware of the influence and impact they had on them often led to exactly that. Similarly, he thinks the fact that some of the participants moved out of the city increased the chances of their peers to change their behaviour as well.

### 4.3 Social relations to adults

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, all ten participants had difficult upbringings, and most of them had one or two parents who suffered from mental illness or drug addiction. Therefore, it is not surprising that all interviewees emphasized the importance of social relations to adults. Moreover, according to the the social worker it was a high priority to give each of the young men a contact person from the municipality. She, and her colleagues, saw this as vital for achieving "anything at all". Ben seemed satisfied by being assigned a contact person:

Yes, it was important because then *one* person was supposed to relate to me and get to know me, and who knew who I was and how I was thinking. Then you didn't have to start over each time you were gonna meet a person (...) What was most important for me was to get a positive attention (...) I think it is important that you were looked at the human you were, and not be regarded as the criminal, violent person that others regarded you as, like the police... that someone could see you and that you were kind, that it was a real person behind the facade (Ben).

Here, it is clear that Ben found it helpful to establish a social relation and to get positive attention from his assigned contact person. Moreover, Alex received valuable help from his contact person in preparing for his next incarceration. Although social relations to the contact persons was something they all brought up, they also talked about social relations to other adults working on the project. Some of them used to go to a 'youth café' called 22B, which was another contributor of the project. This café offered youth a place where they could 'chill out' or go to when they did not have anywhere else to go. This is described by Daniel and Ben:

It was a matter of security. You knew that you always had someone there, it was always food on the table...you could always bring food home if you needed to (...) and with a very bad economy that was pretty great (Daniel).

The way they did it, how they obliged youth who had a destructive and rebellious behaviour... I think it was very good. I believe their trick was to listen carefully to us and to get on 'our level', and not being so intimidating. It was easy to go to them and open up, and that was very important (...) To be listened to obviously does something to you, 'cause then you kind of 'lower your guard' (Ben).

Daniel and Ben argues the importance of the café as it offered free food, a safe and secure place, and the possibility of talking to adults. Moreover, eventually the communication with the police enhanced as well. Before attending the project, all four felt they were regularly controlled or stopped by the police, especially when they were in the city center (as argued by Ben previously in this cateogry). These encounters with the police were described as mostly negative, and Adam felt that the police was "always after him" and "out to get him". On the other hand, Daniel's experience of the police were not solely negative:

I was not controlled, but I was closely looked after, I was... because the police knew me at that time, and they knew who I was, so they could stop me a night I was going out, like by my side, and say don't do anything wrong tonight, you have to look after yourself instead of doing something foolish, because then you know what happens... so they have supported me the whole time, they haven't been like harsh or caught me just for the sake of it, or demand me to leave, they have given me chances and trusted me and... yeah they had faith in me (Daniel).

Fortunately, they all developed a more positive relation to the police eventually. Alex agrees, and claims that this emergence of positive communication made him more careful and act 'better' when he was out partying. Similarly, Adam developed a better relation to the police and after a while the police no longer approached him. He thinks this was an outcome of his improved behaviour, and that they therefore decided to leave him alone. Furthermore, the notion of social relation to adults are essential in the next to categories.

## 4.4. Residence and economy

This category embodies services related to residence, education and work, which all the participants were offered. All of the interviewees were offered help to get a new residence through the project, and everyone attended courses to increase their chances to get a job. Ben and Daniel found it unproblematic to get jobs when they moved from Trondheim. Alex, on the other hand, has not much work experience and is currently unemployed. Adam, who stayed in Trondheim, thought it would be hard to get a job because of his criminal record, but he got an internship through the project where he is currently employed. He did not experience his criminal behaviour as an obstacle:

No, actually they motivated me to quit that stuff, because I told them everything at first and they were like *no that stuff is no good, you have to end all that*. So yeah, they motivated me to work and forget that stuff... instead of thinking *that guy is criminal and we don't want him*, no it

wasn't like that. It was more like we have to take that guy to get him out of that environment, I'd say (Adam).

They were all offered help to earn their own money, which was new for some of them who previously obtained money by stealing or dealing drugs. According to Daniel, people from the U23 project also helped them to arrange debt settlements:

I had debt collection cases, I had all sorts of debt... private loans and such things, that I had to deal with they day I ended all this...and I was in fact not done with that until a couple of years ago...so that kind of things follow you your whole life if you don't take actions (Daniel).

Here, Daniel talks about a serious economic situation, and it seems like the financial assistance he got during the project has a great impact on him and his economy today. Similar cases of assistance are mentioned by Alex and Adam as well.

Moreover, all four emphasized the importance of these services, especially in terms of getting a job. Still, this category will be further discussed in the next chapter.

### 4.5 Leisure time

Although all categories are closely linked to each other, this category is especially related to the latter one, and 'social bonds to adults'. Social bonds with the adults working on the project seemed like a prerequisite to attend the various activities, but such bonds were created during these activities. As such, both factors were crucial for enabling a process of change. All four interviewees claimed that activities are vital for young offenders to break their pattern of behaviour. Daniel mentioned that he did not finish school, which led to idleness and boredom. His story is not unique in this reseach. In the absence of schooling, he had to fill his days with other things. He teamed up with other teenagers and youth who were in similar situations, which eventually led to committing crime. However, one morning when he was drunk and walking around in the city center, he was 'picked up' by the adults working on the youth café 22B. Adam also spent much time in the café, and attended the various activities they arranged. He emphasizes the importance of such places for changing criminal behaviour:

Such meeting places for youth where you can do various activities during the day, that is a good start. I spent my time there instead of doing... other things. (...) Trying to turn their diurnal rhythm, because I assume such kids are awake during the night and sleep during the day, 'cause we were doing that, we were up all night and slept all day, and didn't do anything sensible (Adam).

Adam mentions having something sensible to do, which correlates with statements from the other interviewees. Moreover, when they attended the project they were offered to come along to various activities. Such activities varied greatly and included hiking, sports and extreme sports, trips to a cabin, dog sledding, cross-country skiing, trips to England to watch football games, and so on. Ben thinks extreme sports played a particularly important role in his process of change:

I was seeking adrenaline. Understand me correctly, many of the things I did was not necessarily because I wanted to be mean or do something illegal, but I had a desire for adrenaline and excitement, so being able to experience that in a different way and get positive things in my everyday life, that was very valuable (Ben).

Ben, who did not struggle with drug issues, claims much of his criminal behaviour rooted in a seek for adrenaline, and by attending these activities he was able to get an adrenaline rush in a 'lawful way'. As Alex spent much time in prison during the first years of the project, both Ben, Adam and Daniel participated as many activities as they could. Daniel is thankful he got these opportunities:

It was very helpful, it was something we would not have done on our own. We couldn't afford it and wouldn't even have thought of it, so the fact that they invited us to alcohol-free trips and arranged and facilitated everything for us, bought equipments and such things, it was a big plus for us. We were an active group, so... they arranged these trips to get us off the street, and away from drugs.... and yeah, it worked very well (Daniel).

Thus, according to Daniel he was eventually able to abstain from drugs and stay away from the street mainly because of these activities. Additionally, after having attended several activities, the bonds to the adults grew stronger, which increased their motivation and strengthened the process of change further.

In this chapter I have presented the findings of my research, divided in five categories. In the following chapter, these categories will be discussed in relation to the theoretical framework.

# 5 Discussion of findings

In this chapter I will discuss the findings and link them to the selected theories and former research I presented earlier. As the previous chapter concerned the former participants' descriptions of their experiences with the U23 project, this chapter aims to discuss the significance of these experiences. The discussion is divided into the same five categories and in the same order.

### **5.1 Self-motivation**

I will now discuss the significance of motivation based on the presented findings and by linking it to relevant theory. Firstly, all four participants were motivated to change their lifestyle and desist criminal behaviour when they were invited to take part in the project. Some of them even claimed they had started to change, but that the project made it easier to succeed. Furthermore, they all argue that the project would not have had this impact if they were not motivated in the first place. As such, the presence of internal motivation seems like a prerequisite for enabling change, and achieving desistance. This relates to the self-determination theory by Deci and Ryan (2000; 2008; 2012), which concerns human motivation, assuming that humans are evolved to be intrinsically motivated and oriented to develop naturally through integrative processes (Deci and Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012). SDT sees these qualities as inherent in human nature, but they develop over time and are affected by social environments. In this regard, the fact that the young men were motivated to desist from crime was an inherent quality, but they needed help from the U23 project - an integrative process - to enable change.

In terms of motivation, SDT suggests to differentiate between autonomous (internal) and controlled (external) motivation, so we can better understand what moves a person to act (Ryan and Deci, 2000). All the former participants emphasized a motivation that can be referred to as an internal or autonomous motivation, although external factors played a substantial part as well. One example is from Adam, who was partly motivated to desist from crime because of restrictions by the police regarding his driving license. He knew that he had to end his criminal behaviour to be allowed to drive a car again, still his motivation to change his lifestyle was mainly based on internal factors. The internal motivation is linked to what the SDT sees as three universal psychological needs (Deci and Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and

Higgins, 2012). The first one is the need for *autonomy* and concerns the notion of self-endorsement and willingness. Regarding the project, all participants had signed a declaration of agreement, which allowed the various disciplines to collaborate and determine what measures and means were appropriate for each participant. This might not seem as providing much autonomy for the participants, however they were able to pass or deny some of the propositions. After all, they were 18 years old or more, and thereby adults. One example is Daniel, who was offered to attend an anger management class, which he rejected. Alex, on the other hand, had to attend such a class because it was a part of his sentence.

The second need is the need for *competence* which simply means that people want to feel competent (ibid.). This includes social-contextual events such as rewards and feedback, which the participants experienced when attending the project. At 22B, the youth café, they were able to take part in small projects like renovating and refurbishing, and to help running small businesses. Through such projects they got to show their skills and abilities, and perhaps learning new things gave them a sense of competence and achievement. If so, this probably increased the internal motivation to change. The third need is the need for *relatedness* which concerns the significance of social relations, and will be further discussed in the category "social relations to adults".

### 5.2 Abandon the milieu

As discussed in the presentation of the findings, ending contact with friends who shared the same lifestyle seemed crucial to enable desistance from violence. All of the participants claim they were drunk or intoxicated by other substances every time they performed violence. However, they rarely or never used drugs when they were alone. Therefore, it was necessary for them to stop abusing alcohol and drugs, and they all thought it would be harder to achieve this if they did not end contact with their social environment. Additionally, the police officer argued the impact these young men had on their 'followers'. According to him, people who worked on the project believed that other people within the milieu would commit less crime if the participants - who were the most active violent regulars - abandoned the milieu. After all, the reported crime decreased considerably after these young men participated in the U23 project (Trondheim Municipality, 2018).

The significance of social environments and equals also appeared in the context of self-motivation: seeing other equals developing and achieving a successful change or desistance motivated the participants further. This relates to the reviews of crime prevention programmes provided by Welsh et al. (in Loeber and Farrington, 2012), which claim that association with friends who engage in drug use or delinquency is one of the main risk factors for children and youth to use drugs or commit crime. Still, Welsh et al. argue the lack of peer-focused prevention programmes with follow-ups of offending outcomes in early adulthood. However, they emphasize that according to Tobler et al., (1999, in Loeber and Farrington, 2012) the most hopeful crime prevention programmes involve using high-status conventional peers to teach children and youth ways of resisting pressure from equals, and this is effective in reducing drug use. Daniel and Adam became very motivated by youth who had struggled with drug abuse and still managed to achieve a positive change. Seeing friends reaching their goals is still motivating them today to continue and to do even better. Thus, association with equals can be regarded as one risk factor, and other risk factors will be discussed later in this chapter.

### 5.3 Social relations to adults

As discussed earlier, to attend various activities were essential for establishing positive relations to adults. All of the participants have good relations to one or both of their parents today, but that was not the case for all of them when they were younger. It seems like they all wanted as well as needed positive social relations with adults without being aware of it at the time. Social relations is an essential part of all the theories, including the desistance theory. Burnett and McNeill (2005) claim that social relations is crucial in desisting from crime, particularly relations between offenders and people who matter to them. Engaging in offending is more likely when these bonds are weak or broken. Social bonds between offenders and officers is also emphasized by Burnett and McNeill, and can increase the chances of desisting. This correlates with what the participants said about developing social bonds with the adults, also regarded as 'authorities', which for some of them eventually led to a better relation with the police.

Moreover, it was important for them to be assigned a contact person who was supposed to assist them and help them with the various services. Ben, in particular, emphasized the significance of developing a social bond to his contact person from the municipality. For the first time, he experienced that an adult was not judging him as a criminal, and gave him positive attention. Similarly, Daniel experienced that the adults working on the project gave him a positive sense of responsibilities and trust, which was highly valuable for him and increased his motivation. This can be linked to the third psychological need of SDT, which is the need for relatedness (Ryan and Deci, 2000). According to SDT, people need to have a sense of relatedness or security in relations to other people for being motivated to change. This particularly concerns close, social relations (Deci and Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012). In the lack of close relations to their parents, some of the participants developed such relations to adults working on the project. Additionally, the feeling of being autonomous within these relationships is essential for the relationship to be strong (ibid.). The fact that the participants experienced trust, and felt a sense of codetermination, probably strengthened the social relations which thereby increased the internal motivation. Additionally, the significance of social relations is part of the risk factor prevention paradigm. This will be elaborated further in the following category.

### 5.4 Residence and economy

This category will be discussed in relation to the risk factor prevention paradigm (Rfpp). A risk factor predicts increased probabilities of later offending (Kazdin et al., in Farrington, 2000), and I will look at some risk factors related to residence and economy in discussion of the participants' violent conduct. Whether these factors really caused their offensive and violent behaviour is however not for me to determine. Still, the rfpp may contribute to understand how they were able to end this behaviour. One of the main risk factors is bad parental supervision. As some of the participant's had parents who were mentally ill or suffered from drug abuse, it is perhaps not surprising that this caused an inadequate - or a lack of - parental supervision. This also links to the need for social bonds as previously discussed. Within the rfpp, protective factors are the opposite of risk factors, and decrease the probabilities for offending (Farrington, 2000). In my research, establishing social bonds to other adults can be regarded a protective factor. Similarly, increasing

parental supervision can be another one, but since they were all adults at the time, enhancing their parents' parenting skills was not a part of the project. However, the fact that they got help to obtain their own residence, and thereby move out of their parents' home, can be seen as a protective factor. Some of them even bettered their relations to their parents when they no longer lived in the same household.

I presented social class as concept within the rfpp. Although I cannot say for sure what social class the participants belonged to, they all claimed they did not have much money growing up. As they did not have jobs, and their parents were (possibly) unable to pay for various goods, the lack of money caused them to earn money in alternative ways. As such, poor economy, in combination with bad parental supervision, might be argued as another risk factor. Alex and Daniel stated that they were dealing drugs, and Adam said he used to get hold of money through robberies and petty theft, which correlates with what White and Cunneen (in Goldson and Muncie, 2006) argued: youth without adequate economic resources might experience pressure and take the possessions of others. Another aspect of social class is the notion of identity and affiliation, and when youth are excluded from paid work they can be appealed by 'street-culture' (ibid.). Before attending the U23 project they were all 'hanging out' in the city center, and thus being part of such a street-culture. Finally, being able to earn money in a law-abiding and honorable way can be linked to the SDT's needs of autonomy and competence, as working and earning money motivated and encouraged them to continue with the positive development of behaviour.

## 5.5 Leisure time

All four of the participants emphasized the significance of 'having something sensible to do'. Before being able to get a job, it seems like being invited to join various activities had several positive outcomes. Firstly, it kept them off the street (which presumably led to a decrease in idleness and criminal behaviour itself), it gave them a sense of purpose as well as confidence, and they developed good social relations to adults. Just like I discussed in relation to 'residence and economy', having something sensible to do can make the 'street culture' less appealing. Additionally, as the social bonds with the adults were growing during these activities, the participants' strengths and resources were emphasized. This correlates with the

findings of Maruna and LeBel (2003; 2009, in McNeill et al., 2012): supporting and focusing on resources increase the chances of desistance. Furthermore, the various activities were not something they could afford or even think of, as Daniel stated. It seems clear that economy is essential here as well. Additionally, Ben was seeking excitement, and these activities gave him opportunities to experience thrills without having to perform violence. Moreover, after having attended several activities, Adam mentioned a sense of maturity, which seemed to strengthen the participants' internal motivation. It is not adequate to say that any of the participants simply 'grew out of crime,' but it seems to be a contributing factor. Perhaps this notion of maturity relates to the significance of developing a pro-social, coherent identity, which is, according to Maruna (2001) important for ex-offenders to desist from crime.

Finally, having discussed all five categories, perhaps it is appropriate to suggest that the U23 project facilitated and accommodated all the three psychological needs of the self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, in Van Lange, Kruglanski and Higgins, 2012). Because of the underlying urgency and the fact that it mainly concerned 'established' criminals, the project can perhaps not be referred to as an early intervention programme, but it may be referred to both as a peer-focused intervention, as it emphasized the participants' leisure time with equals, and as an individual-based prevention programme as it targeted risk factors for offending that were found within the individual (Welsh et al., in Loeber and Farrington, 2012).

## 5.6 Limitations of the research study and future research

I will now discuss what I see as limitations within this research, and by that suggesting further research on the topic. Although this is a qualitative research, perhaps four participants is not sufficient to draw conclusions. I argued this matter in the methodology chapter, however I am quite satisfied as the findings correlated to a great extent. Still it would be interesting to see if a similar research with more interviewees had shown similar findings. Moreover, as this research is based on the participants' experiences, it is worth mentioning that these experiences not necessarily correlated with the reality. Still, the conversations with the police officer and the social worker contributed to 'paint the picture' as realistic as possible. Additionally, their experiences with the project might be the reason why they agreed to participate in this research, and it is worth mentioning that several of the original

ten participants were invited, but that some of them declined. Why they chose not to participate is hard to say, but perhaps they did not share these positive experiences. Finally, although the project lasted for several years, not all participants received 'follow-ups' from their contact person or others working on the project after they had managed to desist from crime. Perhaps a longitudinal study would be helpful to further analyse their achievement of desistance, then as well as today.

# 6 Summary and closing comments

It is clear that the U23 project gave positive results in form of decreased violence in Trondheim, which was the main goal. In this dissertation I have tried to find what factors caused this outcome, by analysing the interviews with the four former participants, supplemented by those of the social worker and the police officer. There were several factors contributing to the desistance of violence, and it seems like the main factor for enabling this process is that the participants were initially motivated to change, because of the various consequences of their behaviour and lifestyle. As such, this is perhaps the only factor which is not directly related to the project, and according to them the project would not have given such positive outcomes if this internal motivation had not been present. This is, of course, hard to determine. Still, this motivation seemed to increase in line with their participation in the project, probably as a result of the various services they were offered and the activities they joined. As Alex spent a great deal of time in prison during the project, he did not attend much activities and was not offered the same services. Although he has not been reported for any violence in recent years, he is currently struggling with drug issues. He emphasizes that such activities and services would most likely result in him desisting from all crimes as well. Thus, it seems like the combination of all the factors I have discussed led to a desistance of violence.

Finally, I am very thankful and humble for getting the opportunity to talk to these men. In fact, three of them said that they agreed to participate in this research because they wanted to help youth in similar situations as they once experienced themselves. The fact that they were brave enough to open up to a stranger and talk about their experiences impresses me and makes me humble. I hope and believe that their stories will contribute to prevent crime in Trondheim, or perhaps in the whole country of Norway.

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# References on personal communication

Reidun Hobbesland, Mental health and drugs unit SLT-coordinators Even Ytterhus and Tor Stinessen Former Police officer at Sør-Trøndelag Police Department Social worker from the municipality's Health and Welfare Department.

# **Appendix 1: Consent Form**



## **CONSENT FORM**

Title of Project: Evaluation of the U23 Project Name of Researcher: Ingrid Bauck Bårdstu 1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 22.06.2018 for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. 3. I agree that this form that bears my name and signature may be seen by a designated auditor. **4.** I understand that my interview may be taped and subsequently transcribed. 5. I consent to give access to information provided by the Police, which will not Identify me **6.** I agree to take part in the above study. Name of participant Date Signature



# **SAMTYKKESKJEMA**

**Prosjekttittel**: Evaluering av U23-Prosjektet

Navn på forsker: Ingrid Bauck Bårdstu

1.	Jeg bekrefter at jeg har lest informasjonsskrivet datert 22.06.2018 for denne studien, of har hatt mulighet til å tenke på informasjonen, stille spørsmål og fått tilfredstillende svar på disse	og 1
2.	Jeg forstår at min deltakelse er frivillig og at jeg står fri til å trekke meg når som helst uten å begrunne dette, uten at mine rettigheter blir påvirket.	2
3.	Jeg forstår at dette samtykkeskjemat, som inneholder mitt navn, kan bli sett av en sensor	3
4.	Jeg forstår at intervjuet vil bli tatt opp på lydbånd og deretter transkribert	4
5.	Jeg samtykker til innsyn i informasjon innhentet hos politiet, som ikke vil identifisere meg.	5
6.	Jeg godtar å delta i denne studien	6
— Del	eltakerens navn Dato Signatur	

# **Appendix 2: Permission Letter**

Dear Dr David Porteous,

I hereby confirm that I approve and support the research which is to be conducted by Ingrid Bauck Bårdstu, MA Criminology student at Middlesex University. As gate-keeper I will provide the student with necessary information and existing records, and access to prospective interviewees.

Kind regards,

Reidun Hobbesland

Project manager U23

Trondheim, 18.06.2018

# **Appendix 3: Ethics Form**



DEC		
REC	ref no:	

Please read the MU Code of Practice for Research: Principles and Procedures<sup>i</sup>. The purpose of this form is to help staff and students in their pursuit of ethical research methodologies and procedures. Students should complete this form in consultation with their supervisors. The supervisor is responsible for submission<sup>ii</sup> of this form and required accompanying documents<sup>iii</sup>. No fieldwork should begin until your Research Ethics Committee (REC) has given approval.

#### Section 1 - Applicant details

1.1 Details of Principal Investigator/Supervisoriv		
1.1aName: David Porteous	1.1b Department/Position: CRM Assoc	Prof
1.1c Qualifications:	1.1d Email:	1.1e Tel:
1.2 Details of Student Researcher (if applicable)		
1.2a Name: Ingrid Bauck Bårdstu 1.2b Programme of study/module: MA Criminology		
1.2c Qualifications:	1.2d Email: ib325@live.mdx.ac.uk	1.2e Tel: +47 45 07 98 54
1.3 Details of any co-investigators (if applicable)		,
1.3aName:	1.3b Organisation:	1.3c Email:
1.3eName:	1.3f Organisation:	1.3g Email:
1.3hName:	1.3i Organisation:	1.3j Email:

#### Section 2 - Details of proposed study

2.1 Research project title	Evaluation of the U23 Project				
2.2 Proposed start date	01.07.2018	2.3 Proposed end date	01.10.2018		
2.4 Main aims of the study					

The main aims of the study is to evaluate the U23 Project, to see what worked well and what could potentially be improved. This project was initiated by Trondheim municipality in Norway, and was designed and implemented as an interdepartmental cooperation, aiming to stop what the police called 'violent regulars'. Twelve young men were invited to participate in this project, as they had been reported to the police more than 400 times altogether. Eleven of the young men accepted to take part in the project, and all of them managed to break the negative pattern of violent behaviour.

A similar project is planned to start this upcoming autumn, which will be based on the U23 Project. Therefore, it will be very helpful to talk to the former participants of the project. Their thoughts and opinions will be crucial in designing the new project, which will hopefully benefit other young men in similar situations. Additionally, other municipalities in Norway have asked Trondheim municipality for an evaluation of this project as they are inspired to implement this type of project themselves. To evaluate this project will probably be helpful in preventing violence among young men in Norway.

# $\textbf{2.5 Details of study design, data collection methods (e.g., interviews, questionnaire, observation etc.) and/or secondary data sources (e.g., UK National Statistics) to be used in the research$

The main data collection method will be interviews. Of the eleven former participants, we want to interview those who seemed to benefit the most from the project. Some of the participants are not available for interviews (this includes imprisonment, mental illness and one is even deceased). We are hoping to interview five or six of them.

Additionally, secondary data like information on the U23 project provided by the gate-keepers (employees in Trondheim Municipality. Evidence of approval in the 'gate-keeper letter') will be necessary. Perhaps national statistics on crime and various policies from Norway will be useful.

Section 3 - Initial Checklist to be completed by ALL applicants Indicate your response

3.1 The research DOES NOT involve human participants for animals (or animal by-products) for any activity that might cause damage e.g., to the environment or precious artefactsi.e., the research involves analytical or simulation modelling, or is a literary, historical or theoretical project relying on sources available in the public domain and does not make use of personal or personal sensitive data.	Disa	gree
3.2 The research involves secondary data analysis* where the researcher can provide evidence that they have the necessary approval to access* the data (*please provide evidence of approval) and DOES NOT involve access to records of personal or sensitive information concerning identifiable individuals, or research which may involve sharing of confidential information beyond the initial consent given. If there is data linkage or it may be otherwise possible to identify participants, please complete all sections of this form and the Data Protection Act Checklist for Researchers.	Disa	gree
3.3 The research already has ethical approval from another UK Ethics Committee* (e.g., a UK HEI or organisation e.g., NHS, IRAS*) and the liability insurance is provided by the other body/institution*i. (*Please provide evidence of ethics approval)	Disa	gree

3.4 The outputs from research (e.g., products, guidelines, publications etc.) are not likely to cause harm to	Agree	
others, and are in-line with UK legislationxii.	Agree	

If you have answered AGREE to statements 3.1 or 3.2 or 3.3, and in all cases 3.4, please complete Section 8 and sign the declaration in Section 9. Otherwise, please complete the remainder of this form UNLESS your research involves Human Tissue (including blood) the please complete the Natural Sciences REC form to involves psychological research and requires approval from the Psychology REC and completion of the Psychology REC form.

Section 4 – Research data sources and participants Indicate your response

4.1 Second	ary data research (e.g., published data, archives, court reports, hospital records, case notes, internet site etc.)	N/A
Please spec	ify data set to be used and how it will be obtained and whether appropriate or required permission will be	
obtained:		
Information	on the U23 Project is provided by the gate-keepers, Reidun Hobbesland by Trondheim municipality (evidence of	
approval in	'gate-keeper letter'). Restricted information on former participants are given by Reidun Hobbesland in agreement	
with the loc	al police authorities.	
4.2Primary	data from human participants: Please specify categories of human participants: (e.g., students; those in an	
	ationship (e.g., your own students): general public; specific group(s) or team(s). (Note: NHS patients, and/or their	
	rers, vulnerable adults unable to give informed consent must be reviewed by NHS NRES via the IRAS system.	
	lata from under-16yr olds and vulnerable adults will require DBS see 6.11)	
i) Categori	es and number of participants: Five or six men, all with criminal records but are not convicted for any criminal	
offence at t	nis point of time.	
ii)How will	participants be recruited and approached?(e.g., using email, social medie sites, posters, letters of introduction	
	ssed gained to groups of participants (e.g., through gatekeepers, e.g., organisations, managers, parents, schools	
,	provide details: The gate-keeper, Reidun Hobbesland, will contact the participants' original contacts from the	
	with defails. The gate-keeper, keldan floodestand, will contact the participants of ginal contacts from the	1
	playees working in the Health and Welfare department), who then contacts the potential interviewees. To call the	1
project (em	ployees working in the Health and Welfare department), who then contacts the potential interviewees. To call the	
project (em former part	icipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their	
project (em	icipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their	
project (em former part participatio iii) Details interview q	icipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their	
project (em former part participatio iii) Details interview q Copy of int	cipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their n.  of materials to be used/resources required for this study: (Please provide copies of questionnaires, indicative uestions, topic guide/prompts, visual images etc. to be used in this research) erview questions provided.	N/A
project (em former part participatio iii) Details interview q Copy of int	cipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their n.  of materials to be used/resources required for this study: (Please provide copies of questionnaires, indicative uestions, topic guide/prompts, visual images etc. to be used in this research) erview questions provided.  sor the use of animal by-products <sup>xv</sup> : If the research involves the participation and/or observation of animalsor	N/A
project (em former part participation iii) Details interview q Copy of int	cipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their n.  of materials to be used/resources required for this study: (Please provide copies of questionnaires, indicative uestions, topic guide/prompts, visual images etc. to be used in this research) erview questions provided.  sor the use of animal by-products <sup>xx</sup> : If the research involves the participation and/or observation of animalsor nimal by-products please refer to the MU Statement on Using Animals and provide the following details:	N/A
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project (em former part participatio iii) Details interview q Copy of int 4.3Animale the use of a i) ii) iii)	icipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their n.  of materials to be used/resources required for this study: (Please provide copies of questionnaires, indicative uestions, topic guide/prompts, visual images etc. to be used in this research) erview questions provided.  sor the use of animal by-products <sup>w</sup> : If the research involves the participation and/or observation of animalsor nimal by-products please refer to the MU Statement on Using Animals and provide the following details:  Type of animal/animal by-product  Justification for use of animal/animal by-products(s)  Where data collection is being undertaken	N/A
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project (em former participation iii) Details interview q Copy of interview and the use of an ii) iii) iv) v)  4.4 Other cetc. Please p	icipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their n.  of materials to be used/resources required for this study: (Please provide copies of questionnaires, indicative uestions, topic guide/prompts, visual images etc. to be used in this research) erview questions provided.  For the use of animal by-products**: If the research involves the participation and/or observation of animalsor nimal by-products please refer to the MU Statement on Using Animals and provide the following details:  Type of animal/animal by-product Justification for use of animal/animal by-products(s) Where data collection is being undertaken Where animals/animal by-products are kept and care/storage facilities/disposal**  Evidence of relevant licence/permissions (where applicable)  lata sources to be collected/used not categorised above e.g., flora/foliage, minerals, precious artefacts rovide details:	
project (em former participation iii) Details interview q Copy of int  4.3Animals iii) iii) iiv) v)  4.4 Other of	icipants by telephone, explaining the purpose of the research will most likely increase the chances of their n.  of materials to be used/resources required for this study: (Please provide copies of questionnaires, indicative uestions, topic guide/prompts, visual images etc. to be used in this research) erview questions provided.  For the use of animal by-products*: If the research involves the participation and/or observation of animalsor nimal by-products please refer to the MU Statement on Using Animals and provide the following details:  Type of animal/animal by-product  Justification for use of animal/animal by-products(s)  Where data collection is being undertaken  Where animals/animal by-products are kept and care/storage facilities/disposal**  Evidence of relevant licence/permissions (where applicable)  lata sources to be collected/used not categorised above e.g., flora/foliage, minerals, precious artefacts rovide details:  Type of data	
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## Section 5 – Anonymity, confidentiality and consent for primary and secondary research Indicate your response

5.1 Will the research involve collecting or analysing personal data or sensitive personal data? (i.e.,personal data refers to information that may identify individuals e.g., name, address, date of birth, opinion, specifc event, set of characteristics that would clearly identify individuals or very small groups. Sensitive personal data refers to racial or ethnic origin, political opinion, religious beliefs, trade union membership, sexual life, physical or mental health, criminal matters.)	No	
If 'yes', consider irreversibly anonymising data, if possible, by removing names and other linked or identifying information which may still identify an individual without their name. Alternatively, if personal or sensitive personal data is required for the research, you must comply with the Data Protection Act (DPA)(1998) and understand your responsibilities under the DPA and have received data protection training. Please complete the		

Data Protection Act Checklist for Researchers			
<b>5.2</b> Will lists of identity numbers/codes or pseudonyms for individuals and/or organisations (i.e., <b>linking keys to personal identifiers</b> ) be stored securely and separately from the research data and destroyed after the study to avoid any risk of confidentiality being compromised? <i>If 'no' please provide details:</i>	Yes		
<b>5.3</b> Will you tell participants that their data will be treated <b>confidentially</b> and the <b>limits of anonymity</b> will be made clear in your <b>Participant Information Sheet*</b> ?(e.g., their identities as participants will be concealed unless prior consent is given to include the name of the participant in any documents resulting from the research. Consider how participants' narratives, quotes or involvement in specific events may make anonymity difficult to maintain) <i>If 'no' please provide details:</i>	Yes		
5.4Will you obtain Written Informed Consent wilk directly from research participants (if applicable)? If 'no' please provide details:  If 'yes' please specify how and when this will be achieved:  If the participants agree by telephone to meet for an interview, they will be asked to sign a written informed consent by me before the interview starts.	Yes		
5.5Will you obtain Written Informed Consent* directly from gatekeepers (if applicable)? If 'no' please provide details: Participants will give their consent by telephone, and will therefore be asked to sign a written consent when we meet before the interview starts.  If 'yes' please specify how and when this will be achieved: A letter from the gatekeeper has been provided.	Yes		
<b>5.6</b> Will consent be obtained if the research involves <b>sharing of data or confidential information beyond intital consent</b> given? <i>If 'no' please provide details:</i>			NA
<b>5.7</b> Will you inform participants that their participation is <b>voluntary</b> and that they have a <b>right to withdraw</b> from the research at any time? <i>If 'no' please provide details:</i>	Yes		
<b>5.8</b> Will you have a process for managing <b>withdrawal of consent</b> ? <i>If 'no' please provide details and any further actions to be taken:</i>			NA
5.9 Will it be necessary for participants to take part in the study without their knowledge and consent at the time, or by deception e.g., covert observation?  If 'yes', please provide justification and details of how this will be managed to respect the participants/third parties involved to respect their privacy, values and to minimise any risk of harmful consequences:		No	
5.10Will you provide a Written Debriefing Sheet*? (if applicable)		No	
5.11 Will you need <b>consent from people</b> who appear <b>in visual data</b> (e.g., photos or films)? <i>If 'yes' please provide details:</i>		No	
<b>5.12</b> Will you <b>audio or video record</b> interviews and/or observations?  If 'yes' please provide details on how participants' anonymity will be maintained: If participants give their consent, the interviews will be audio recorded. These recordings will be transcribed into English (as they all speak Norwegian) which assures their anonymity further, and then immediately deleted. The participants will be given new names for the dissertation.	Yes		
5.13If the research involves participants responding to internet surveys, emails, chatroom discussions, blogs, interactive games, social media and networking sites etc, how will you obtain permission from the website authors, or informed consent from participants, and ensure anonymity and protect confidentiality in an environment that generates significant amounts of background information e.g., data logs, IP addresses, cookies and caches and/or with low levels of system security? <i>Please provide details:</i>		No	
*Please submit conies of these forms with this application			

<sup>\*</sup>Please submit copies of these forms with this application

### Section 6 - Avoiding harm: risk assessment and management, safety and legal issues

6.1Will you use an experimental research design (ie. implement a specific plan for assigning participants to conditions and noting consequent changes?)  If 'yes', please provide details of treatment/intervention (and specify is these are intrusive interventions e.g., hypnosis or physical exercise, or include the use of drugs, placebos or other substances e.g., vitamins, food substances etc.) and provide details of required resources for this study:		No	
<b>6.2</b> Will the research involve <b>discussion of sensitive topics</b> ? (e.g., sexual activity, drug use etc) <i>If 'yes' please provide details:</i>	Yes		

Sensitive topics may appear during interviews as one interview question concerns use of drugs (illegal and legal).			
However, this question do not involve what type of drug(s) or the scope of the drug use. Regarding their criminal			
records, there will be no questions that involve details on what they have been convicted for in the past.	-		
<b>6.3</b> Is <b>pain or more than mild discomfort</b> likely to result from the study?		No	
If 'yes' please provide details:			
<b>6.4</b> Could the study induce <b>psychological stress or anxiety</b> or <b>cause harm or negative consequences</b> beyond the		No	
risks encountered in normal life?			
If 'yes' please provide details and state how participants will be supported:			
6.5Will the study involve prolonged and repetitive testing? If 'yes' please provide details, justification and state	$\vdash$	No	
how participants will be supported and length of each data collection session, number of sessions and location of			
data collection:			
<b>6.6</b> Will this research be conducted <b>off-site</b> (i.e., not on MU premises)?	Yes	+	
If 'yes', please provide details of other locations and complete a Risk Assessment Form for Fieldwork*****iito be			
submitted with this form.			
If 'no', a risk assessment form will need to be completed if the research involves groups of participants and there is			
a need to control space risks or to comply with relevant licence(s).			
1			
6.7 Will you be alone with individual participants or group of participants place you at risk?	Yes		
If 'yes' please state how this can be avoided or managed? The interviews will take place in a facility with			
employees from the municipality outside the room. This particular room is chosen because of its glass windows,			
which allows the people outside the room to partly see us. It is not possible for the public to look inside these			
windows. Nevertheless, the men invited to take part in this research are not regarded as dangerous in any way anymore.			
•			
6.8 Is the research or outputs from the research likely to cause harm to others (e.g., to their physical well-being,		No	
mental health, dignity or personal values) to an extent greater than that encountered in ordinary life? If 'yes' please			
state how this can be avoided or managed?			
<b>6.9</b> Are there any <b>adverse risks</b> or <b>safety issues</b> from <b>potential hazards</b> that your methodology raises for you		No	
and/or for your participants? If 'yes', please specify and with details of mitigating actions that will be taken(e.g.,			
travelling alone, working in hazardous conditions, etc.) and how will you, and your participants/third parties be			
supported?			
6.10 is this research likely to have a damaging effect on the environment e.g., damage to habitats, plants, or		No	
sites of archaeological or geological or cultural significance? Or a negative impact on people living/working in			
the <b>immediate locality</b> of the study?			
If 'yes' please provide details and state how damage will be minimised:			
6.11Will this research require a current Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) Certificate*?		No	
*Needed when working with under-16yr olds and/or vulnerable adults for example, in education or healthcare			
contexts.	<u> </u>		
Section 7 – Research Sponsorship and/or Collaboration			
7.1 Does the research have a <b>sponsor</b> (i.e., any person or organisation who provides support for the research in the fo	orm		
of income, use of data, facilities, materials, assistance with data collection etc) that may have ethical implications for	or		

7.1 Does the research have a <b>sponsor</b> (i.e., any person or organisation who provides support for the research in the form of income, use of data, facilities, materials, assistance with data collection etc) that may have <b>ethical implications for the research</b> ? <i>If 'yes' please provide details</i> : The gate-keeper provides facilities for conducting the interviews and necessary information on the U23 Project. However, as independent researcher I am aiming to find both positive and negative sides of the project, and I will not receive income or other profit by conducting this research.	Yes	
7.2 Does the research involve an international collaborator or research conducted overseas?  If 'yes', what ethical review procedures must this research comply with for that country, and what steps have been taken to comply with these: (e.g., Do you need local permission/approval? Are there any country specific cultural social or legal considerations that need to be taken into account? Who will be collecting the data overseas? Have you considered intellectual property issues?) The research will take place in Trondheim, Norway with a Norwegian gate-keeper and with Norwegian interviewees. Local permission is confirmed (see 'gate-keeper letter').	Yes	

7.3 Does this research require Approval from an External Research Ethics Committee? (e.g., Some organisations, agencies and local authorities require this**If 'yes' please provide details: The gate-keeper from Trondheim municipality and the municipality's internal 'privacy protection office' ('personvernombudet') have approved the research.	Yes	
7.4 Will this research or part of it be conducted in a language other than English?  If 'yes', full translations of all non-English materials will need to be submitted. Yes, all non-English materials included in the dissertation have been translated into Norwegian.	Yes	

# Section 8- Other Issues - to be completed by ALL applicants

<b>8.1</b> Does the research involve any <b>ethical and/or legal issues not already covered</b> that should be taken into consideration? <i>If 'yes' please give details:</i>	No
<b>8.2</b> Do you or your researchers require training on the requirements of the <b>Data Protection Act for researchers</b> ?	No
8.3 Does the research raise any other risks to safety for you or others that would be greater than in normal life? If 'yes' please complete the MU Risk Assessment Form for submission to the REC with this form.	No
8.4 Will participants receive any reimbursements or payments for participating?  If 'yes' please provide details and justification:	No
8.5 Are there any conflicts of interests to be declared in relation to this research?	No

#### Section 9: Declaration - to be completed by ALL applicants

#### As principal investigator or student researcher I confirm that:

- 1. I have read and agree to abide by the relevant Code(s) of Ethics appropriate to my research field and topic.
- 2. I have reviewed the information provided in this form and believe it accurately represents the proposed research.
- 3. I have read and agree to abide by the University's Code of Practice For Research: Principles and Procedures.
- 4. I agree to inform my Supervisor/Research Ethics Committee of any adverse effects or changes to the research procedures.
- 5. I understand that research/data may be subject to inspection for audit purposes and I agree to participate in any audit procedures required by the Research Ethics Committee (REC) if requested.
- I understand that personal data about me contained in this form will be managed in accordance with the Data Protection Act.
- I have completed and signed a risk assessment for this research study (if applicable).

Principal Investigator Name:	Signature:	.Date:
Student Name: Ingrid Bauck BårdstuSignature:	Ingrid Bauck BårdstuI	Date: 21.06.2018

#### As supervisor I confirm that:

- 1. I have reviewed all the information submitted with this research ethics application and believe it accurately represents the
- I accept responsibility for guiding the applicant so as to ensure compliance with the terms of the protocol and with any applicable Code(s) of Ethics
- I understand that research/data may be subject to inspection for audit purposes and I agree to participate in any audit procedures required by the Research Ethics Committee (REC) if requested.

  I confirm that it is my responsibility to ensure that students under my supervision undertake a risk assessment to ensure that
- health and safety of themselves, participants and others is not jeopardised during the course of this study.
- I understand that personal data about me contained in this form will be managed in accordance with the Data Protection Act.
- I have seen and signed a risk assessment for this research study (if applicable).

Supervisor's recommendation to the REC		
This is a low risk project and all ethical, legal and safety issues have been sufficiently addressed	Yes	No

Signature:David Porteous	Date:	22.06.18	

### Please submit to your relevant Research Ethics Committee.

\*Please indicate which documents will be submitted

Please check and attach the following documents where applicable:			
1.Evidence of external approval – from external ethics body	Yes	No	NA
2. Evidence of external approval – for access to secondary data	Yes	No	NA
3. Letter of permission (if required from organisation where research is to be conducted)	Yes	No	NA
4.Participant Information Sheet	Yes	No	NA
5.Written Informed Consent Sheet	Yes	No	NA
6.Written Debriefing Sheet	Yes	No	NA
7.Completed Risk Assessment Form	Yes	No	NA
8.Copy of questionnaire/interview guide/details of materials for data collection (including translations, visual	Yes	No	NA
images etc.)			
9.Disclosure of Conflict of Interests (if applicable)	Yes	No	NA
10. Evidence of relevant licencefor research with animals/animal by-products	Yes	No	NA

Examples of Consent Forms and Participant Information sheets can be found on the MU Ethics intranet site and at http://www.hra-decisiontools.org.uk/consent/examples.html

FOR RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (REC/RESC) USE ONLY	REC no: Date:
Chair of REC/RESC or nominee Name:Prof Sarah BradshawDate:	

Signature: ....

Last up-dated 19 July 2014 TC

# NOTES FOR COMPLETING THIS FORM

Last up-dated 19 July 2014 TC

- 1. Participant information sheet
- 2. Informed consent sheet
- 3. Debriefing information
- Risk assessment form (required if research is to be conducted away from MU property. Institutions/locations listed for data collection must match original letters of acceptance.)

5

vi Human participants are defined as including living human beings, human beings who have recently died (cadavers, human remains and body parts), embryos and foetuses, human tissue ad bodily fluids, and human data and records (such as, but not restricted to medical, genetic, financial, personal, criminal or administrative records and test results including scholastic achievements). All data collection involving human participants and/or personal data and/or sensitive personal data must receive ethics approval prior to the research commencing, with the exception of the following, which are not considered 'research': a) routine audit, b) performance reviews, c) quality assurance studies, d) testing within normal education requirements, e) literary or artistic criticism. Ref: ESRC (FRE, 2012).

xiii Human Tissue (under the Human Tissue Act, 2004) refers to 'relevant material' that contains at least a single cell from a human body, e.g., organs, blood, bodily waste products, cell deposits or tissue sections. (It does not include embryos outside the human body or hair and nail from the body of a living person.) Please refer to the HTA list of relevant materials

athttp://www.hta.gov.uk/legislationpoliciesandcodesofpractice/definitionofrelevantmaterial/listofmaterialsconsideredto berelevantmaterialunderthehumantissueact2004.cfm

MU Code of Practice for Research: Principles and Procedures is available on the MU intranet and internet

<sup>&</sup>quot;See list of Research Ethics Committee Contacts List on the intranet and internet for submission process details

iii Required accompanying documents include the following:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>iv</sup> Please note that a student (UG, PG taught or research) cannot be the Principal Investigator for ethics purposes

v Refer to Middlesex University: Definition of Research

vii The Middlesex University Statement on Using Animals is available on the intranet and internet

viiiSources available in the public domain include published biographies, newspaper accounts, published minutes of meetings.

ix Refer to Middlesex University: Definition of Research section on secondary data analysis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>x</sup>The Integrated Research Application System (IRAS) will be applicable to research in the Confidentiality Advisory Group (CAG), National Offender Management Service (NOMS), NHS, and other health and social care / community care research review bodies in the UK. See <a href="https://www.myresearchproject.org.uk">https://www.myresearchproject.org.uk</a> for accessing the IRAS system.

xi If **MU liability sponsorship** is required please complete all sections of this form

xii For example under the Computer Misuse Act (1990) and the Data Protection Act (1998)

xiv For research involving **Human Tissue (including blood etc.)** please use the form and process for the Natural Sciences Department. For **psychological research** please use the forms and process for the Psychology Department.

xvThe Middlesex University Statement on Using Animals is available on the intranet and internet

xviFor more information on risk assessment and disposal of animal by-products refer to https://www.gov.uk/dealing-with-animal-by-products

xviiResearchers that intend to obtain **consent from participants to use human tissue** must attend a consent training course at MU as part of the HTA requirements. See the Natural Science REC info for further details.

xviii The Middlesex University Risk Assessment Form is available on the intranet and internet

xix External ethics approval is required from some organisations, agencies and local authorities that have their own ethics processes and require completion of additional ethical approval forms and processing in addition to the MU process. It is yourresponsibility to check whether additional permissions apply to you.

## **Appendix 4: Risk Assessment Form**

### **Middlesex University**

Dept. of Criminology and Sociology and Dept. of Social Sciences Ethics Sub-Committee

# INDEPENDENT FIELD/LOCATION WORK RISK ASSESSMENT FORM UNDERGRADUATE AND POST-GRADUATE TAUGHT STUDENTS, CONTRACT RESEARCHERS

### 1 TO BE COMPLETED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS

This proforma is applicable to, and must be completed in advance for, the following fieldwork situations:

- 1. All fieldwork undertaken independently by individual students or small groups of students, either in the UK or overseas, including in connection with proposition module or dissertations. Supervisor to complete with student(s).
- 2. All fieldwork undertaken by undergraduate and postgraduate students. Supervisors to complete with student(s).

APPLICANT DETAILS	
Student Number:	M00636312
Supervisor:	Dr David Porteous

#### Is your research

- 1) PRIMARY (it involves engaging with participants)
- 2) SECONDARY (it involves engaging with the literature and secondary data)

If your research is 1) PRIMARY complete sections from 1 to 7 If your research is 2) SECONDARY go to section 7

### 1.1 PROJECT TITLE:

Evaluation of the U23 Project

### 1.2 LOCALITY OF RESEARCH

Locality of research (City, Area of city, Country and Region)

Trondheim, Norway.

Travel Arrangements (e.g. How will you travel to the area where you are conducting your fieldwork? What is the setting?)

The research will be based on interviews conducted in one of the municipality's premises in the city center. I will most likely travel by bus.

What are the potential risks you may be exposed to? (Think carefully: Will you be conducting your fieldwork at night? Will the research be conducted in a high crime area? Will you be causing an offence?)

Interviews will take place at day time in a meeting room in one of the municipality's premises (called 'Uteseksjonen'). One or several of the employees will be outside the meeting room during the interviews. The interviewees will be giving their consent in advance so I see no reason why I will be causing any offence.

NB: Comprehensive travel and health insurance must always be obtained for independent overseas fieldwork. Please note that the University of Middlesex does not cover any accidents during fieldwork.

**Ethics Sub-Committee** 

2 RISK TO RESEARCHERS
2.1 Will you be working with any of the following people? Please tick relevant box:
Prisoners or Arrestees
☐ Children/young people under 18 years
Persons with health problems (physical, psychological or other)
Others, if so please state  Men (approximately 25 to 30 years) with criminal records
2.1 Will you be collecting data in sensitive or potentially dangerous environments? If so, please state:
No. All interviews will be conducted in 'Uteseksjonens' office building (a department within the Municipality) with a minium of two people sitting right outside the room. This particular room is chosen because of its many glass windows, so the staff can partly see us, but it is not possible for the public to see this room.
3 RISK TO PARTICIPANTS
3.1 Describe any potential physical/emotional discomfort to participants during the research process
No physical discomfort. The only possible emotional discomfort for participants might be looking back at a difficult time of their lives.
3.2 How are you minimising the risk of causing any physical/emotional discomfort to participants during the research process? (e.g. What type of questions are you planning of asking? Are these intrusive? For example, you may want to formulate in a sensitive style. How will you respect gender, culture or age related norms? )
The participants will know why they are invited to take part in the research before they meet for an interview. Therfore the potential emotional discomforting factor mentioned above is unlikely to be seen as a an issue. Further, all questions in the interview guide are thouroughly selected and formulated. All questions are open and potentially sensitive questions concern issues from more than 5 years ago. The information sheet clearly states that the interviewees are able to decide how much they want to share of their thoughts, opinions and experiences. This will also be repeated before the interview starts.
4 PUBLISHING INFORMATION
4.1 Are you planning to make public photographs or videos of participants? (e.g. using social networking sites such as facebook, tweeter or any other form of media)
Individuals: Yes No  If yes to either of these, please provide a copy of the consent form which participants will be
asked to sign for this purpose.
5 PARTICIPATION
5.1 Are all the researchers students of Middlesex University?
Yes ■ No □

**Ethics Sub-Committee** 

If no, please provide evidence of insurance cov	er, including:
a) list of all people involved in the investigation	n;
b) details of the form this cover will take.	
6 COSTS	
6.1 Will your research increase work/cost t	to any Department or School of the University
of Middlesex ?	
Yes (If yes, obtain and include the name and concerned:	i signature of the relevant Heads of School(s)
Name	Signature
No	
7 DECLARATION	
To be completed by all applicants	
Please Read and Sign: The information I have g knowledge correct:	given on this form is true and to the best of my
Signed: Ingrid Bauck Bårdstu l	Date: 21.06.18
Give the completed and signed copy to your	· supervisor.
SUPERVISOR APPROVAL (FOR BOTH PRIMA	ARY AND SECONDARY RESEARCH)
Print Name:	Signed & Date:
David	23.07.18
Porteous	
ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL (FOR PRIM	  ARY RESEARCH ONLY]
LEVEL OF RISK: $\square$ LOW (one signature is red	quired) HIGH (two signatures are required)
Member of the Ethics committee Print name:	Signed & Date
Sarah Bradshaw	23.07.18
Member of the Ethics committee (for high risk only) Print name:	Signed & Date

**Ethics Sub-Committee**